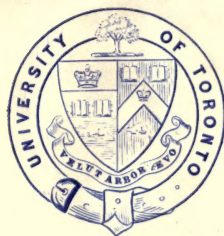


Proceedings of the
CANADIAN CLUB, Toronto
for the Year 1919-1920

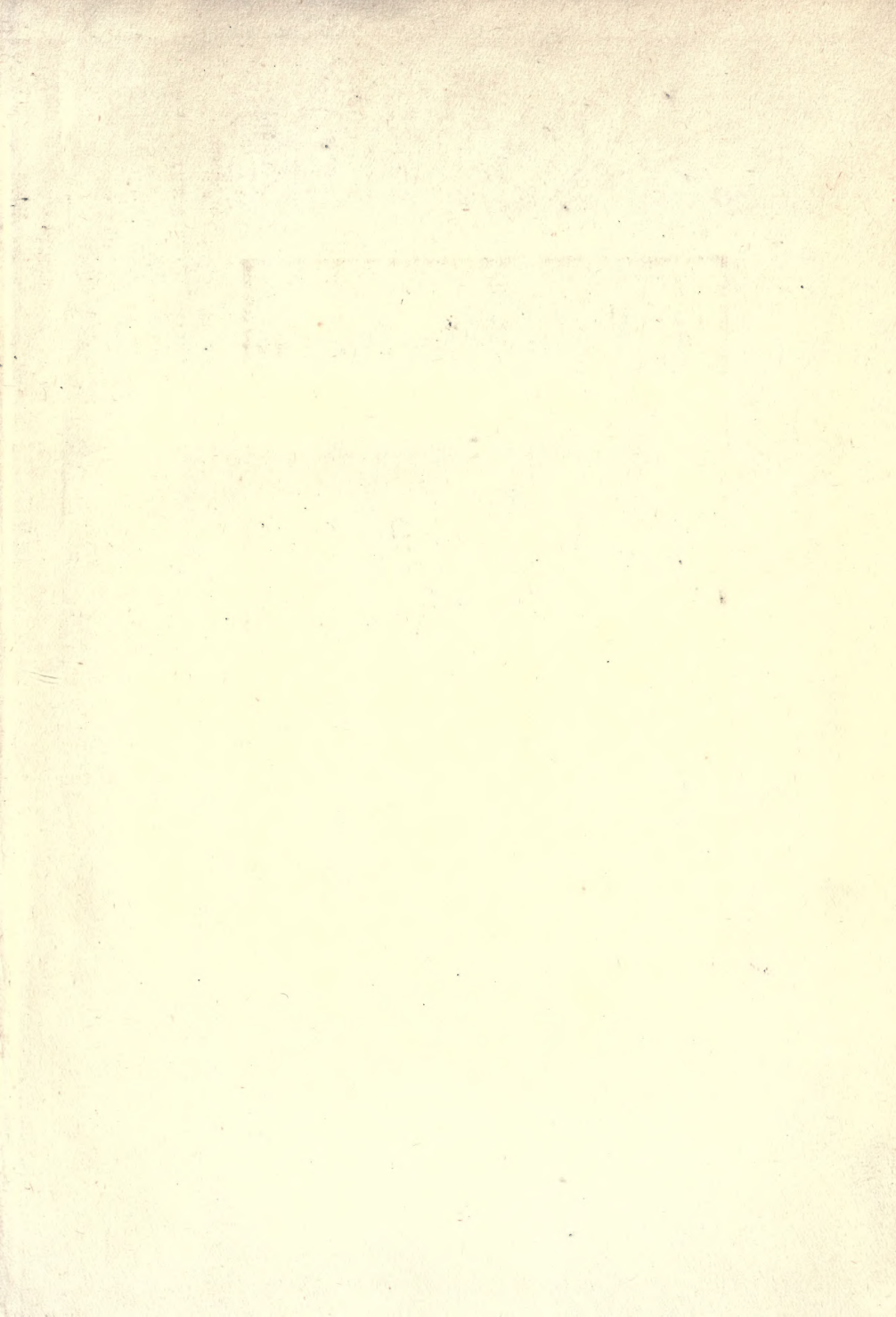
VOLUME XVII.

1919-20



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Proceedings

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

The Canadian Club of Toronto

Season of 1919-20

Vol. 17

TORONTO
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OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR 1919-20

<i>President</i>	<i>1st Vice-President</i>	<i>2nd Vice-President</i>
MAJOR E. P. BROWN	MAJOR W. L. GRANT	J. W. MITCHELL

Honorary Secretary
MAJOR J. M. MACDONNELL

Honorary Treasurer
D. M. NEEVE

Literary Correspondent
GEORGE SMITH

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
C. F. LEONARD

EXECUTIVE

W. A. BUCKE
PRINCIPAL MAURICE HUTTON
E. G. McMILLAN
REV. R. B. COCHRANE

L. L. GRABILL
DR. GORDON RICE
H. D. BURNS
W. N. McILWRAITH

MAJOR E. W. WRIGHT

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR 1920-21

<i>President</i>	<i>1st Vice-President</i>	<i>2nd Vice-President</i>
W. G. WATSON	S. B. GUNDY	D. M. NEEVE

Honorary Secretary
J. M. MACDONELL

Honorary Treasurer
L. L. GRABILL

Literary Correspondent
M. W. ROSSIE

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
C. F. LEONARD

EXECUTIVE

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LT.-COL. H. W. A. FOSTER, D.S.O., M.C.
VINCENT MASSEY
DR. D. E. ROBERTSON
J. R. AMEFOSE

VICTOR ROSS
MAJOR E. P. BROWN
J. A. SCYTHES
FRANK P. MEGAN
MAJOR A. J. SNIVELY

PAST PRESIDENTS OF The Canadian Club of Toronto

FOUNDED 1897

JOHN A. COOPER	1897-98
W. SANFORD EVANS	1898-99
GEORGE WILKIE	1899-00
W. E. RUNDLE	1900-01
S. CASEY WOOD	1901-02
D. BRUCE MACDONALD	1902-03
W. R. P. PARKER	1903-04
GEORGE A. HOWELL	1904-05
E. R. PEACOCK	1905-06
MARK H. IRISH	1906-07
JOHN TURNBULL	1907-08
R. HOME SMITH	1908-09
GEORGE H. D. LEE	1909-10
J. F. MacKAY	1910-11
K. J. DUNSTAN	1911-12
A. H. U. COLQUHOUN	1912-13
J. R. BONE	1913-14
LESLIE WILSON	1914-15
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL F. H. DEACON	1915-16
GEORGE H. LOCKE	1916-17
E. C. FOX	1917-18
H. D. SCULLY AND E. W. WRIGHT	1918-19
E. P. BROWN	1919-20

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Canadian Club of Toronto

(Founded 1897)

1. The Club shall be called the Canadian Club of Toronto.
2. It is the purpose of the Club to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature and resources of Canada, and by endeavouring to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion as may be desirable and expedient.

3. (a) There shall be two classes of members,—active and honorary.

(b) Any man at least eighteen years of age, who is a British subject by birth or naturalization, and who is in sympathy with the objects of the Club, shall be eligible for membership.

(c) Honorary membership may be conferred on such person as in the opinion of the Club may be entitled to such distinction.

(d) Provided that a Patron of the Club may be appointed.

4. Application for membership must be made in writing through two members of the Club in good standing, and the names must be voted upon at the next Executive Meeting. Two black balls shall exclude.

5. (a) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall neither vote nor hold office.

(b) Active members shall pay, in advance, an annual fee of three dollars.

(c) No one shall be a member in good standing until he shall have paid his annual fee, such fee being due and payable on or before November 30th of each year.

(d) Only members in good standing shall be eligible for office or have the right to vote at any meeting of the Club.

(e) Fees of members elected after November 30th shall forthwith become due and payable.

(f) All members whose fees are in arrears shall be so notified by the Treasurer; and if the same are not paid within ten days thereafter, their names shall be struck from the roll.

(g) The membership shall be limited to 2500.

6. (a) The Officers of the Club shall consist of a President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Literary Correspondent and ten others holding no specific office. These Officers, together with the last retiring President, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

(b) The Officers shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Club, which shall be held on the last Monday in April and shall hold office until the next annual meeting or until their successors are elected.

(c) Nominations shall be made by a nominating committee appointed at a meeting to be held at least one week previous to the annual meeting. Their report shall be received at the annual meeting, and either adopted in its entirety or after amendment, on motion and ballot.

(d) In the case of demission of office, whether by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thereby caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee. The person so elected shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

(e) In the event of any member of the Executive Committee being absent from three successive regular meetings of the Executive Committee, he shall thereupon cease to be a member of the Executive and the vacancy shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.

7. (a) Subject to special action by the Club, the conduct of its affairs shall be vested in the Executive Committee.

(b) The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President, and five members shall constitute a quorum.

(c) Where the President is unable or refuses to call a meeting, three members of the Executive may do so by giving the others at least 24 hours' notice in writing.

(d) The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be paid such remuneration as shall be fixed by them.

8. The duties of the Officers shall be as follows:

(a) The President, when present, shall preside at all meetings, and shall, upon request, inform the Club of the proceedings of the Executive Committee since the last report, receive and read motions, and cause the sense of the meeting to be taken on them, preserve order and direct the proceedings of the meeting in regular course. There shall be no appeal from the ruling of the Chair unless requested by at least five members and carried by two-thirds vote.

(b) In the absence of the President, the senior Vice-President present shall preside and perform the duties of the President and have his privileges.

(c) In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, a chairman for the meeting shall be chosen by the open vote of those present.

(d) The Literary Correspondent shall have charge of all correspondence of a literary character, and shall edit any literary matter issued by the Club, and in a general way promote and guard the interests of the Club in the daily and periodical press.

(e) The Honorary Treasurer shall collect and receive all moneys due the Club, issue receipts therefor, and pay all authorized accounts.

(f) The Secretary shall take minutes at all meetings of the Club as well as those of the Executive Committee. He shall issue notices of meetings, and perform those duties usually appertaining to the office.

(g) The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer shall perform such duties as may be assigned him by the Executive Committee.

9. (a) Meetings held on Mondays, between 1 and 2 p.m., shall be deemed regular meetings, and shall be called at the discretion of the Executive Committee, except during the months of May, June, July, August, September, and October. Special meetings may be held at any time or place at the call of the President or three members of the Executive Committee.

(b) No notice of ordinary meetings shall be necessary, but notice in writing of all annual and special meetings shall be sent to each member of the Club.

(c) Fifty members in good standing present at any meeting of the Club shall constitute a quorum.

10. Two auditors shall be elected by open vote at the meeting provided for in clause 6, and shall embody their report in the Treasurer's annual statement.

11. The Executive Committee is empowered to appoint a Floor Committee consisting of four members, and a Reception Committee consisting of four members, who may or may not be members of the Executive.

12. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, by a two-thirds vote of the members present, after one week's notice of such amendment.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

(As Amended at Annual Meeting, May 3rd. 1920.)

1. That provision be made for the appointment of a Patron of the Club.
2. That section (a) of Clause 6 be amended by the substitution of the word "ten" for the word "several" in the third line of the said section.
3. That Clause 4 be amended to read as follows:
Application for membership must be made in writing through two members of the Club in good standing, and the names must be voted upon at the next Executive Meeting. Two black balls shall exclude.
4. That the following subsection (g) be added to Clause 5 :
(g) the membership shall be limited to 2500.
5. That clause 6 be amended by the addition of the following subsection:
(e) In the event of any member of the Executive Committee being absent from three successive regular meetings of the Executive Committee, he shall thereupon cease to be a member of the Executive and the vacancy shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.
6. That the Executive Committee be empowered to appoint a Floor Committee consisting of four members, and a Reception Committee consisting of four members, who may or may not be members of the Executive.

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

1919-20

(May 19th, 1919)

Canadian Citizenship of the Future

MAJOR-GENERAL A. D. McRAE, C.B.

I appreciate very much the privilege of addressing you, particularly at this wonderful period of world events. We are all, I am sure, optimists as to the future of the great English-speaking peoples. We have no reason, in view of the great accomplishments of the past, to be in the least discouraged by the tremendous problems to-day confronting the British empire. Britain has survived every national crisis since the days of William the Conqueror, and she will not fail to maintain her leadership of civilization in these days of William the vanquished. The fires of reconstruction may burn fiercely for a while, but from this furnace will come forth men able to lead the empire further along the paths of progress and humanity. I have no patience with those people of 'super-patriotism,' whose solicitude is for every country except their own. These are the days when we must not neglect ourselves, and, like the proverbial cobbler, fail to provide shoes for our own.

It has taken a great war to bring home to the people of this world a true appreciation of the value of the citizen to his country. Never again will well-governed nations give so

*Major-General McRae, C. B., served as Quarter Master-General to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and attracted the notice of the British Government which led to his appointment as Assistant to the Minister of Information by the Imperial Government.

little thought or consideration for the well-being of the individual. Nations are but a collection of individuals, and it is from the physical, mental and moral development of its citizens that the state takes its standards, character and morals. It has been truly said that national honor is but the culmination of individual honor, and the foundation of the prosperity of the nation.

In the older countries it will be education, housing problems, hours of labor, and the health of the citizens which will receive the consideration of their respective governments, but here in our new Dominion, seeking, as we do, the best of mankind to settle and develop our unoccupied acres, we have many other features which must also receive careful direction, if our increase in population is to bring the development of our Dominion along the high plane we have every reason to anticipate.

Until the early years of the present century, the question of citizenship gave us little or no concern. Canada had developed slowly. Such immigration as we received came almost exclusively from Great Britain, and these God-fearing immigrants brought with them to their new homes those admirable sound principles of life which the British people have so long enjoyed.

It is within the past sixteen years that the immigration to Canada assumed a different character, and brought to our shores people from the oppressed nations of Europe. These were attracted not only by the opportunities offered by our new country, but also by the advantages of our democratic system of government. They came largely as a result of the flashy advertisements and solicitations of energetic European steamship agents, whose vessels sailed to Canada. As will always be the case, the roots of these non-English speaking settlers remained in the land of their birth. Was there any reason, then, for our being surprised when the war disclosed so many of our new camouflaged Canadians in their true colors? Owing to the exigencies of war, a general withdrawal of the citizenship granted to these new immigrants from enemy countries was necessary. Certainly no voice could be given them in the direction of our war efforts with their fatherland. Now that such citizenship has been withdrawn, it should not be returned until the question of the Canadian naturalization of the future has been definitely decided upon, and then restore it on the new basis.

What is going to be the future requirements of Canadian citizenship? Our standards must be raised. For one, I am

strongly in favor of probationary citizenship. Why should we not profit by our mistakes of the past and take the necessary steps to prevent a repetition of them? We know that invariably the heart of the matured immigrant remains, until death, with the land of his birth. Why then, when he becomes an immigrant to our Dominion, should we admit him into permanent citizenship equal to that enjoyed by those of us born in the country? I agree that the child who remembers but little of his birthplace soon acquires the ambition to be a Canadian, but seldom do the parents.

Should we not have an adequate language requirement in our naturalization? As a rule, the man who cannot read and write intelligently, cannot vote intelligently. Personally, I feel that with the single exception of French, it is absurd for us to grant the privileges of Canadian citizenship to anyone who is unable either to read or write the English language. I would not grant him even probationary citizenship. How can any man or woman be competent to decide and vote on our issues of the day when they are not able to either speak or read English? We must guard our suffrage. It has the power of life or death over our country.

The war has shown the necessity of the registration of aliens and I think this registration should be maintained. It is not suggested that anything like the old Russian system be attempted, but certainly our house could be better kept in order if we knew something about the people sojourning with us.

Developments of the past four years have shown, that, in seeking their freedom, some of our newcomers are disposed to interfere with ours. We should change our immigration laws to welcome the honest home-seeker, but to exclude the 'professionally oppressed', who seems unable to distinguish between the hardships he submitted to in the past and the liberties he now enjoys; who, because he suffered in his native land, wants to incite revolt against the very land that gives him refuge; put the burden of desirability on the immigrant who would come to us, and not upon the government. Let him produce the proofs of his fitness; make him register. With probationary citizenship and the knowledge that he can only become a Canadian when he has proved himself worthy, the immigrant may be stirred on to higher and better emotions, and he will certainly appreciate the privileges of our citizenship when he gets it.

It is clear that the old haphazard methods of interesting

European immigration will not do. It cannot be left largely to steamship companies and labor agencies. We must have selected immigration, conforming to our needs and standards, moral as well as physical. There must be careful scrutiny of all immigration if we are to maintain the present high standard of Canadian manhood.

Now is our opportunity to clean house. We should lose no time in getting rid of the present undesirables we have in Canada. If they are aliens, return them to their homes and thus rectify the mistake we made in admitting them. If there be citizens of our fair Dominion who are so unappreciative of the liberties they enjoy that they would incite their fellow citizens to revolt and destruction, give them the opportunity to select some other country more to their liking, but should they continue their activities in Canada, let there be no hesitancy, in dealing with them as enemies of our society, and if we have not the proper laws to enable us to do this effectively, then we should lose no time in enacting the necessary legislation. We want no coddling of anarchy in this country.

Why not follow the example of France and restore the law of banishment? With three weeks to leave the country, our prison doors to open to receive them at the expiration of that time, how many of our Bolsheviks would remain with us as martyrs to the principles of ruin which they advocate? Canada is our country, and only those loyal to her should be allowed to live under her flag.

We must decide under what conditions we are to permit foreign papers to be published in this Dominion. In my judgment, these papers, if they are to continue, should be under strict government supervision, and compelled to duplicate in English every word printed in a foreign language.

As for national societies, they should be discouraged. Let us take the necessary step to avoid racial and national division such as they have in the United States. This is the time for us to adopt our new standards and to prepare to live up to them. Do not let us compromise our principles or permit our initiative to be overcome by repression.

We must plan for the future increased population we need, and are sure to receive. Canada should have 25,000,000 people in 1950. It will require careful direction if British sentiment is to prevail at that time. We must keep in close touch with our man-power conditions, and its tendencies.

This will have to be the serious duty of some department

of our government, and its statistics must be kept up-to-date. We should lose no time in having our standards of naturalization enacted into law and backed up by authority.

In advocating the house cleaning of our population, do not confuse this with the right to criticize, which must be upheld. Honest censure is a patriotic duty. The notion which has grown up during the war, that criticism is detrimental to the country, should now be repudiated. Fair criticism is essential to good government. Approval of policy cannot be secured by refraining from seeking it. It is the right and duty of all good Canadians to express their opinion as to how our country is to meet the conditions before us, facing them squarely and courageously. It is not well for the country that we should all be "incense burners" to the administration.

We have been considering what is necessary to cleanse our citizenship and to protect it from foreign invasion, but what about the welfare of the Canadians at home?

The war has shown the health of the individual, both physical and moral, and especially that of his children, are matters the state cannot afford to neglect. Great Britain at last appreciating this fact, has established a Ministry of Health to look after her people. We should lose no time in following this precedent. The ways in which this ministry can be of service to the nation are innumerable. In the housing problem alone, regulations under such a ministry should be enacted which would make congestion and its consequent slums, such as they have in Europe, impossible in Canada for all time.

During a recent visit to Dublin, in going through the slums (the worst in Great Britain), I was struck with the effectiveness of the modern single dwellings erected by the Guinness people in the center of the slums of that city. Coming immediately out of the most wretched streets, lined with innumerable hovels occupied by inhabitants in filth and rags, one emerges into a block of small, individual brick dwellings, with a flower garden in front of each, occupied by the same class of people as the adjoining slums. However you found them,—grown people and children—cheaply but well clad, neat and clean,—in the most marked contrast to their less fortunate neighbors. Such is the effect of good homes on the people. We should permit no others in Canada.

We can be proud of the educational system we maintain which leaves little to be desired, so far as the youth is con-

cerned, unless we were to pass a law making it a crime against the country for any parent or guardian to fail to send his children to school. Education is essential to good citizenship. We must, however, realize that our duty to educate our people does not cease when the child leaves the public school. We cannot over-estimate the importance of popular instruction in Canada and it will prove false economy to spare expense by not spreading it. It is apparent that the government, on account of the large immigration we are to receive, must give very close attention to the education of the masses, not only with the view of developing a Canadian spirit, a love for our country and an appreciation of our system of government, but also so far as possible to inoculate our new citizens with the spirit of the empire. The children of our new immigrants, in the natural course of events, may be expected to become good Canadians, but it will require education if they are to appreciate the advantages of Imperial unity so patent to most of us who come from British stock.

Here may I be permitted to sound a word of warning to the slumbering defenders of British unity who are reposing contentedly in the belief that the participation of the dominions in the war has cemented the empire together, for all time? I wish it were so. But I fear a careful study would show the feelings of the returning soldiers far from unanimous on this point. Their disillusionment as to conditions in Europe, a realization of their own worth, as established on the battlefield, and a lack of opportunity to gain a fair appreciation of Great Britain's efforts in all her various fields of war activities, no doubt largely accounts for this feeling of independence. The saying that you have only to scratch a Dominion soldier on the back to find a Republican, is very far from the truth, but as everyone familiar with the situation knows, considerable of this sentiment does prevail in the troops of all dominions; and in Canada this sentiment, together with the growing American sentiment in our western provinces, due to close trade relations, immigration and geographical location, and with the other foreign immigration we already have in the west, and the new immigration we are soon to receive, all culminates in a problem most vital to our Dominion and to the empire as a whole.

I yield to no man in my enthusiasm for the status of

nationality Canada now enjoys, and it is probable that as we develop, further recognition in the countries of the world may be necessary, but I am firmly convinced that our future lies in the British federation of nations to which we belong. I hope that we are going to receive from this association something more substantial than the sentiment of the past, not that it is necessary to those of British origin, but with our new settlers I feel that something more material is essential to awaken in them an appreciation of the empire. We must watch our melting pot.

The great medium for educating the masses is the press of the country. We can well afford to join Britain and the other dominions in the establishment of an 'all-red wireless,' with a view of placing it at the disposal of the press of the empire, so that they may have ample news service from every section. Such a system, which can be constructed at comparatively small cost, will go far to maintain, not only British sentiment within the empire, but as its service would cover two-thirds of civilization, it would greatly strengthen British prestige throughout the world. The ease with which wireless is now received, and the development which may be anticipated as a result of the war, will undoubtedly make it possible, at an early date (with an 'all-red system'), for the editor of any paper, in any part of the British empire, to get through an inexpensive automatic receiver, the imperial news of the day, or, if we permit ourselves to look into the future but a short distance, it is possible to conceive such a development of the wireless telephone as will enable the news to be relayed to the press from central wireless stations, and even direct to the wireless phones of our news-loving public.

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to see the editors of our leading daily papers listening through the wireless phones in their offices to the important parliamentary announcements, with all the advantages of being present. Certainly the practicability of wireless in connection with the news and the education of the masses, in this country of vast areas, demands the serious consideration of our government.

The soldier weaned from his home, his ideas broadened by the travels and battles abroad, has been able to take an unbiased and a long-range view of the administration of affairs at home. Considering the great sacrifices which he has made for his country, it is not surprising if many of the

old political methods no longer meet with his indifference. Unless they are forced to it by inaction, there will be little tendency to offer suggestions from the ranks, but the soldier will use the right to see and to say what he sees, which must be exercised by all good citizens in our free Dominion. Foreign service and the sacrifices which it exacts, not only increases the patriotism of our soldiers, but greatly elevates their ideals of government and their respect for truth, justice, and right. That they will be insistent on higher patriotism in our political life of the future may be accepted as a certainty. Is it not on their returned soldiers that Canada will depend for the backbone of the national patriotism? There it will be found. Let us, therefore, remember that a square deal for honestly discharged soldiers will not only strengthen the morale of the nation, but will go far to create and maintain a higher national conscience.

The soldier has every right to expect Canadians to be in peace what he has proven them to be in war, a people capable, man for man, to hold their own with any race in the world. With unlimited confidence in the Dominion, he looks forward to such expansion in production and industry as will bring happiness and general prosperity for the individual, and for the people as a whole. He is for 'action to-day'. Promptness in meeting all emergencies which he had learned to be so essential to a successful battle of arms, he believes equally essential in the affairs of state.

In a country which has been so unanimous in war, it should be unnecessary to plead for unity during the vital period of reconstruction; a gulf that must be crossed and which will require the united efforts of all. Patriotic Canadians may well view with alarm the dissension which would appear to be growing in Canada. Why should our country divide into three factions—farmers, laborers and manufacturers—when the future success of each, depends on the co-operation of all? Let me quote you the scripture text of that great liberator, Abraham Lincoln, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.'

A great deal of progress is being made these days by labor, which has received the recognition of the League of Nations. We hear of better homes, shorter hours of work, more recreation for the laboring man. I am greatly in sympathy with them all, but what about the farmer? Who is thinking about making his working hours less, home life

pleasanter, and farming generally more attractive? I know that many of you now consider the farmer a bloated capitalist and not in need of your consideration. I was raised to manhood on an Ontario farm, and I have no illusions on the subject. My sympathies are with the farmer, and particularly with his womenfolk. What if he has obtained big prices for his produce for the last four or five years? How long has he waited for his inning, and how many of us would have been content to exercise his patience and forbearance? If so why did we leave the farm? What more even distribution can there be of the increased wealth of the nation than among the farmers? When they are prosperous, only then will the country be prosperous.

A glance over a list of prominent Canadians will be sufficient to satisfy anyone that the farmers are the backbone of our citizenship. Our farms are, and, God willing, I am sure will remain for years to come, the nursery of our statesmen and the fountain of our national ideals. The best men grow in close contact with nature. How necessary, then, that the farmer should have first consideration? His interest will always be allied with conservative government. The destructive methods of Bolshevism, so foreign to British character, will find no place with the land-owning farmers of our Dominion. They will always be a bulwark against the etherized principles of socialism.

If the efforts to popularize farming are to succeed, improved rural conditions must come first. A great deal can be done in this respect, not only to make farming a pleasanter occupation, but also to raise its efficiency and increase its returns.

Good roads and better transportation generally would be a great boon to the farmers whose products must all be taken to market. The adoption of light railways with their gasoline motors, as used in the war areas, to the needs of the farming communities, would bring almost every farmer in a well-settled district within ten miles of railway transportation. The development of water powers where available, and the bringing of light and power to the farming communities, somewhat along the lines now being worked out in Ontario, are conveniences that mean much to comfort on the farm. The construction and operation of municipal or district cinemas would add, not only to the amusement of the community, but would afford a wonderful opportunity to

educate the masses, not only in agriculture and its sundry problems, but also to the issues of the day. The cinemas have undoubtedly become one of the modern means of education and afford the only opportunity to reach a considerable portion of the population. If it is not to be made use of as a part of our educational system of the future, then our government should certainly exercise a very decided supervision over its educational tendencies. The extension of the rural delivery and parcel post systems, and the establishment of travelling libraries, which might be carried on in connection with the proposed district cinemas, coupled with lower postage rates for magazines and farm periodicals, would go far to make the farmer's opportunity equal to that enjoyed by the city or village resident.

With a view to efficiency, our government can go much further in assisting Agriculture throughout the Dominion.

Fortunately, the day is past when scientific farming is regarded as a fad. With the question of seed selection and development, soil adaptability and improvement, the scientific breeding of live stock, dairy, farm economics, domestic science and the sundry other important matters the successful farmer must know, agriculture is surely and rapidly becoming a profession.

Not only in all of these matters should the government give the farmer every assistance, but also by importing the best breeding stock from Europe for the government farms, with a view of their progeny being distributed throughout the Dominion. No longer should we stand aside and permit the tops of the best breeding stock of Europe to continue to go to Argentine and other countries in the southern hemisphere. There should be many more demonstration farms throughout Canada so that all farmers might have the advantage of a practical demonstration of the suggestions they received. Such farms might be established on a county basis, equipped with the necessary laboratories and lecture halls, and in charge of an expert, who could advise the individual farmers in detail on any matter connected with his farming operations. Such an arrangement should mean a tremendous increase in the production of our farms, and would repay the country many times what it cost.

These things occur to me at the moment as an encouragement to farming in this country. The lower prices which are certain to prevail for agricultural products before many years pass may make efficiency absolutely essential to

profitable farming, and the consideration of such matters a necessity. There are, I am sure, many other ways of assisting and popularizing farming, all of which, in the aggregate, will mean a great deal more to successful and remunerative agriculture than the tariff issue now rending the country, and apparently preventing our administration from proceeding with the pressing issues of reconstruction.

There can be no future for Canada in the strangulation of her industries. This would certainly be disastrous to labor, and, in my judgment, most injurious to agriculture. The farmer, who must look forward to a big reduction in the present war prices for his produce, will, when this comes about, be greatly interested in the development of the country as a whole and the increase in home consumption. It is said that home consumption takes three-quarters of what our farms produce. Picture what 25,000,000 people in Canada would mean to the value of the present farms, and the stabilizing effect such a population would have on certain farm commodities, some of which are now on an export basis only by reason of the high war prices prevailing. It is only necessary to look across the imaginary boundary line to see the effect of population on agriculture and farm land values.

All the countries of Europe find their economic situation following the war so difficult of adjustment, so much of their labor unemployed, and their finances so badly depleted, that they must guard every avenue through which their balance of trade may be adversely affected. They are leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to produce, so far as possible, all the people's requirements at home, thus conserving their money and furnishing employment for home labor.

Until disclosed by the war, nations failed to appreciate their weakness in not producing certain essentials, but depending on what subsequently turned out to be their enemies for the same. Self preservation compels them to run no such risks in the future. The United States is following this course. The principle of producing at home is a very simple one. Who succeeds, the farmer who thinks he can better afford to buy his limited pork requirements from Swift, or the one who raises his own pigs? So with nations. Even Great Britain is abandoning her old-time free trade policy. Certainly this would be a most inopportune time for Canada to go blundering along under the present tariff system,

making changes in the tariff which possibly would affect the soundness of her industrial institutions. It would be throwing away the very foundation of the industries we have been endeavoring to develop for the past twenty-five years, and which, thanks to the war, have now become firmly established.

It is claimed that our tariff system is illogical and unsound and the present tariff the result of tinkering and patching arrived at neither by system nor reason, and not in keeping with present conditions. There would appear to be much to justify this claim. If this is correct, what is the business way to deal with it? Will we start in to make more blind compromises, or will we adopt the common-sense, business way and proceed to find out what the situation is. The comparative cost and selling price of the articles in the competing countries and in our own? As much of our competition comes from the United States, should we not ascertain the selling prices of similar articles at relative points in that country and Canada? Possibly it will be found that the trouble is not all with the tariff.

Take the case of binders. If it is shown that a binder sells for practically the same price in Fargo, N.D., as in Winnipeg, then the tariff is not to blame. Something else is wrong. Perhaps the fact that there is a harvester trust in the United States of America may have a bearing on the prices. What the farmer wants is a cheaper binder, which he should have if investigation shows an undue margin between the cost and the selling prices, either with or without the tariff, and so with other articles.

Why not have a parliamentary committee, on which both the farmers and manufacturers would be represented, to investigate the tariff, with a view of recommending tariff legislation which will be for the welfare of the nation as a whole, and not for any one class? This committee would investigate the question of selling price and cost price of the principal articles of tariff now in question, and would recommend to parliament the basis to be adopted for our tariff of the future.

It could do no harm, and might tend to bring this about, if the manufacturers and farmers were to get together now for a general discussion, and in this the manufacturers, being the business men, should take the initiative. The disposition to fight it out at arm's length, which is so much in evidence, is not in the interest of the parties concerned, or the country as a whole. Sensible loyal Canadians should get together.

I appreciate that this committee suggestion means the delay of a year in the tariff adjustment, but surely the farmers who, owing to the excessive prices still prevailing for farm products are at least enjoying their full share of the prosperity of the country this year, can afford to be patient if they have the assurance of an intelligent and fair adjustment of the whole tariff question within a reasonable time.

It would appear that the economic situation in Canada and our great war debt will force us, in any new tariff, to adopt the basic principle of, so far as possible, producing our requirements at home. I do not believe the farmers of the country who must bear their share in the nation's obligations, will offer any objection to such a tariff. Certainly labor, whose efforts frequently constitute three-fourths of the cost of many articles, can only make the protection, which they have secured by way of wage agreements, effective by the adoption of the principle which enables the work of production to take place in Canada, and our money to remain at home instead of going to foreigners, aggravating the exchange situation which is already very difficult. Anyone knows that a little money in the house is worth quantities in the bush—especially if it is the other fellow's bush.

The nations of Europe are looking to the new world for raw materials with which to operate their factories. Canada is rich in such assets, and we must see to it that our policy of the future will ensure the operation and development of our native industries, and the manufacture of our raw materials at home, employing labor in Canada instead of some foreign country.

Now, while we have a Union government, representative of both political parties, an opportunity is presented to take the tariff out of politics, and place it in the hands of a permanent non-political commission, on which the different interests would be represented. Any equitable tariff must vary frequently and it will require something like a standing commission to promptly and properly deal with it in accordance with changing conditions. The interest of the Canadian people in all tariff adjustments which, as a rule, require special knowledge and careful investigation, can surely be left with more satisfaction to the consideration and decision of a well-balanced tariff commission and their experts, than to the present long-delayed haphazard compromising adjustments effected by parliament, always with a great deal of discussion,

agitation, uncertainty and consequent depression in business.

The proposed tariff investigation should include the question of a general luxury tax similar to that in force in several European countries, and which is the source of much income to them. The payment of this tax by the customer, at the time of purchase brings home to him the net value of the article and has a decidedly wholesome effect and a marked tendency towards thrift and plain living. This revenue is contributed direct by the individual with the expensive tastes; the man who unduly spends has to pay for his pleasure. Is it not well that we should bridle the luxury of living consequent upon the great material prosperity the country has so recently enjoyed, otherwise such wealth may become the cause of much discontent in the future.

Far-sighted patriotic Canadians, instead of attempting to block the masses in their endeavours, should proceed at once to devise means of reaching the national goal without disturbance. Let all of us, east and west, wrap up our tariff emotions in cotton wool, reverently lay them aside, and proceed with the sound sense of an honest nation, remembering that while co-operation spells prosperity, dissension means ruin.

Democracy in industry as in politics is being advocated. Our policy should be one of stability, as it will require our united strength if we are to get our share of the business resulting from the war, and make the most of the present exceptional opportunity to establish our foreign trade. In many lines our industrial capacity exceeds the normal demands. The individual manufacturers should concentrate into associations, eliminate self-destructive competition at home, and enjoy the advantages of a large output and uniform grades in the export market. Under a properly regulated tariff, and with the big competitor to the south of us ever present, there can be no national objection to any combination of Canadian manufacturers which will tend to lower the cost of production or to increase their output.

In view of the urgency for the early resumption of our industries, and the importance of retaining, if possible, a favorable balance of trade, Canada can go far to aid them in establishing their export connections. A great deal can be done.

The manufacturers of our Dominion as a whole have had but limited experience in foreign markets. We are as yet only in the kindergarten class in the school of international

trade. It will require considerable education to make world traders of our manufacturers, and in this as in all matters of education, the government should take a leading part.

Our Minister of Trade and Commerce must necessarily be the head of this movement. His initiative and that of his assistants abroad can go far to aid our manufacturers or their associations in their foreign efforts. We may well pattern our government representation abroad after the pre-war plan of the German foreign service, in which every representative was an agent for big business at home, instead of following the precedent of the British diplomatic service, which in the past has considered trade beneath its dignity. We must not depend on the British consuls for our information. In most cases they know little of Canada, and, if possible, even less of her industries and their requirements, and in all cases their obligation is to represent British manufacturing interests.

Our senior government official in each country should be the active head of our trade relations. With a view of giving them a higher standing, and the entree to diplomatic circles, and at the same time making it possible to get many of our best business men to accept appointments abroad, we should, where the volume of trade justifies, raise the status of our representatives to high commissioners. What does the increased salary (which after all is but a part of the expenses of any high commissioner) amount to compared with the advantages which accrue to Canada? Imagine good business men as high commissioners, their heads full of sound commercial ideas and their trading faculties thrilled with the opportunities presented for trade with their Dominion. Support them with bright assistants, thoroughly familiar with the productive capacity and requirements of our own country, as well as the country to which they have been allocated, and able to speak its language. It would be difficult to overestimate what such an organization abroad would mean to our export business. We would have a representation of which we would well be proud.

What about assistance to our manufacturers at home?

The great trouble with our export business will be the sad lack of commercial linguists. Spanish and French should both be made obligatory in our high schools and universities. We should have a Faculty of Commerce in connection with our universities, where all Canadian young men desirous of engaging in foreign trade could receive the necessary training to qualify them for the work.

Few of our manufacturers have reached a point of size where they can afford a scientific staff and laboratories. Where the outlay is heavy, the economy gained is general to all trade and amounts to a small percentage of the cost of production, it would appear that the government through its ministry of trade and commerce should maintain the same for the benefit of our industries. It would be possible through this agency to be of great assistance to our manufacturers, not only in a scientific way but in encouraging proper methods of production, marketing, cost accounting and the general principles of manufacturing efficiency. While it is not suggested that the government assume any direction over our industries, yet in view of the large number of manufacturers who have become victims of their own inexperience, it would appear that the government might display a little real paternal interest with advantage to the trade of the country as a whole.

With good qualified trade representatives abroad, we should be able to look forward to greatly improved reciprocal arrangements with many countries. Never has there been such an opportunity as the present for Canada to improve her trade relations. South Africa and the British West Indies want free trade with Canada; Australia and New Zealand will go a long way and give us a big preference; Great Britain we need not fear under the new conditions where cheap labor, long hours of work and cheap power have disappeared. We can safely give them a good preference on everything, and if the preference they propose to grant us in their new tariff scheme is a substantial one, I for one would be glad to see us grant Great Britain free trade with Canada, but do not misunderstand me, I do not think it is good business for us to make it altogether one-sided and give Britain free trade regardless of whether she gives us a preference worth while, or for all practical purposes treats us the same as the many neutrals which bore no part of the great expense of the fight for liberty, but on the contrary have grown rich through the war expenditures of others.

The small nations of Europe do not wish to trade with their arch-enemy, Germany. They are jealous of France and Italy and want to trade with the British Empire. America will do a big business with them for the present as she will extend them both food and credit. American methods, however, are crude and unless the American manufacturer, like

ourselves, takes the kindergarten course in the school of international trade, he will soon lose out to the experienced European trader, who is a digger after facts and conditions, and studies his field with the microscope of world-wide commercial experience.

In order to get his part of this trade, the Canadian manufacturer must broaden out, study his market and be prepared to forego the immediate profit, if necessary, when establishing his foreign business. It costs money to start up at home. Why should no sacrifice be anticipated when launching a new business abroad?

Early in my tenure of office as quartermaster-general of the overseas forces of Canada, I was greatly impressed with the opportunity afforded through the army and navy canteen board to introduce Canadian products, not only into Great Britain, but France, and through their soldiers in the field to the various dominions and colonies. As this great merchandising institution purchased \$150,000,000 of supplies annually, I had visions of a big market for Canadian products and a wonderful opportunity to introduce them to the world.

I succeeded in getting them to send a special representative to Canada, and so that the best might be made of the opportunity, I sent my assistant quartermaster-general with him. The result was disappointing. Owing to a big home demand, we were successful in getting very few manufacturers to take any interest in our export proposition or to supply the goods. Notwithstanding this, however, in a six weeks' trip, purchases aggregating some \$2,000,000 were made, and they proved so satisfactory that that board the following year endeavored to place others aggregating \$30,000,000 in Canada, but were prevented from doing so by the financial arrangements existing between Great Britain and the United States. They are, however again in the market this year, I am advised, and for a large amount. I quote this instance simply to bring home to the manufacturers the lack of foresight as well as the necessity to get established in foreign markets when the opportunity offers.

Our merchant marine should be operated with a view of increasing our foreign trade. We cannot look forward with much success in competing with the cheaper tonnage and lower wages prevailing on the usual European steamship routes.

We can best afford to operate these steamers on the trade routes to the countries with which we have reciprocal arrange-

ments but poor transportation, and to Mexico and other countries in Central and South America that are also anxious to trade with us. Operated on this basis, they would be a great assistance to our foreign trade.

Our manufacturers, if they enter on the broad basis that the world trade demands, with proper government co-operation, need have no fear under the present circumstances of unduly paying for their export experience. The ministry of trade and commerce, by frequent meetings with the various industrial associations, and by personal consultations with the manufacturers from time to time, and a regular system of manufacturers' reports, covering articles of export, would be in a position to keep the government trade representatives abroad fully advised as to the requirements of the industries at home. From his representatives abroad he could easily procure prompt and regular reports by cable covering the trade situation in the various countries in which our manufacturers do business, and such reports transmitted regularly and promptly to the manufacturers interested, would be a safe and reliable guide, particularly to those new in the business. It would be a simple matter, with the co-operation of the manufacturers, to organize a department of trade, so that it would be of invaluable assistance to our exporters. It would be the source of information which it would be impossible for them otherwise to procure.

If there is one thing that stands out to-day it is the duty of sober counsel among ourselves. Our problems are not impossible of satisfactory solution. Quite on the contrary, the interests of all factions are so interdependent that the spirit of compromise must prevail. I have endeavored in my remarks to point out some of the many things that should be done for the farmer and for the manufacturer as well. We must not only be just, but generous with each other, and loyal to the interests of the people as a whole. This is no time for class legislation. There can be no reaction to pre-war conditions. Let us not try to block the wheels of progress, but join in the upward march for a nobler and a broader life, a better Canada, both civil and political.

If we take the tariff out of politics, we remove one of the corruptive influences from our public life. While we have a non-partisan government, let us go a step further, and though conceding campaign funds necessary, demand that (as in the United States) a certified list of contributors,

with the amount subscribed, to any political party be filed, and thus made available, so that the people may know the "interests" supporting them. Our laws should be amended so as to make bribery a criminal offense for the man offering or paying the bribe, as well as the man receiving it, and they should both be disfranchised. Such legislation would go far to remove the necessity for excessive campaign funds, which have not been to our credit in the past. The poet Dante placed in the worst torments of hell the man who sold his country for gold. His ideas are worthy of consideration, even at this late date. Why should we not deal with the public official who prostitutes his office either for his own enrichment or that of his friends, as a traitor to his country and subject to trial and punishment as such? Our government must take the people more into their confidence. There should be greater frankness displayed by our various administrations. These and other similar reforms must be inaugurated if our government is to measure up to the higher political principles which are slowly but surely taking possession of the Canadian people.

In the past it has been difficult to induce business men to sacrifice their interests and enter public life. Many people were even careless about discharging their duty at the polls. Scattered along our highway of national events, we see many evidences of this indifference of the past. During the last four years tens of thousands of Canadians have laid down their lives for their country on the battlefield. There was no place in Canada for the military slacker. Now that the country is facing an emergency only second to the war, when the great need is for sound, practical business men in federal, provincial and municipal administrations, are political slackers to be tolerated, or will our business men who were not called away for military duty be now obliged to give to their country such services as the public interest may demand? Is the standard of patriotism to be less in peace than in war?

Canada is potentially one of the richest countries in the world. During the next five years she should lay the foundation for the greatest prosperity in her history, developing her agriculture and her industries side by side, shipping her produce and her manufactured articles to the markets of the world. Her farmers, manufacturers and laborers should be prosperous and contented.

Remembering that everything we do not know about is apt to look much bigger than it really is, and that while certainty makes business, uncertainty paralyzes it; let us urge our legislators on to action. There can be no contest between east and west at this time. We must get back to the sound basis of mutual confidence. Is it not as clear as noon-day that the imperative duty to the country is to get on with reconstruction?

The problems immediately before us will test the genius, statesmanship and patriotism of our public men to the limit. Heavy demands will also be made on the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the individual citizen. Personal interests must be refrigerated. All partisanship, sectional or local interests and prejudices must be placed in cold storage during the period of reconstruction, and the brains and the muscles of the country left free for harmonious action, if Canada is to come into her own.

Will the good patriotic people of our Dominion, forgetting all former affiliations, get together and insist on an impartial, honest, aggressive business direction of all the country's affairs? If so, we need have no fear of being denied our "Great Inheritance."

(June 23rd, 1919.)

Operations in France and Italy

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. H. MITCHELL, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Mr. President, my Lord, General Logie, and Gentlemen: I assure you that I consider it the greatest honor to stand before the Canadian Club to-day. I am at home in Toronto, and this is like home. I assure you that, when I came into the city the other day, I felt that after being in Belgium, France, and Italy, Toronto certainly did look good. And to-day, particularly, the 23rd of June, is an unique day, especially when we think that June has been the month of justice, the month of battles throughout the war. We go back four years to 1915, when we had already fought—I am speaking of the Canadians—the battle of Ypres; and we had fought, too, the battle of Festubert.

The next year, 1916, during the month of June we fought the battle of Sanctuary Wood. In that battle the Canadians showed even greater ability than they had in the previous year. They had taken back the hill of the Observatory Ridge entirely on their own; and to no one was that due more than to General Currie, who commanded the First Division.

In 1917, in the month of June, the Canadians had already fought the battle of Vimy Ridge, the Second Army had fought the battle of Messines; and in June we were preparing for the various battles of the summer and the autumn of 1917. A year ago, the fourth year of the war as far as I am concerned, we fought in the battle of Asiago; which was part of the great Austrian offensive in Italy, the last throw they made in the great game. So we can well say that June is the month of battles. To-day, particularly, we read in the morning papers of the imminent signing of the peace terms in Paris. To-day is an unique day.

*General Mitchell, who is a member of this Club, served as General Staff Officer for Intelligence of the First Canadian Division, and later of the Canadian Corps, being promoted to the staff of the Second Army, in which position he had much to do with the planning of the attack on Messines Ridge and with the fighting in Italy which led to the destruction of the Austrian Armies.

We, perhaps, naturally think of the local situation, but we must not be influenced by it. A general is not a good general when he is influenced by the local color of what is happening on his own sector. And we cannot help but feel that what may be happening here is only a small thing in the whole. After all, when we think about the situation to-day, isn't it a natural thing in some respects? It is the thing which has been happening all over England, and in various parts of Europe. Last spring I took particular interest in the situation; and tried to study the industrial situation, endeavoring to see what was behind it. If I say something that is not new to you it is because there is good ground for saying it. It is that the way out of industrial unrest will be solved by education and industrial co-operation.

I think, perhaps, one of the greatest things that has happened in the war has been the extraordinary reversal of opinion among the workers in England. For several weeks we were on the verge of having a strike that would call up the whole of the Island Kingdom, the strike which had been threatened by the Triple Alliance—the miners, the electrical workers, and the transportation workers. The result was that in March the Sankey report was brought in and the alliance agreed to it in the spirit of co-operation—I don't like the word conciliation—and the result was the complete reversal of the opinion of the workers in regard to the great mining situation. That, perhaps, is the best text for to-day in Canada—Co-operation.

While touching on it, the word "co-operation" seems fitting. It is the key-word of every work in the army. Above all, co-operation is the greatest element in organization; and I don't need to say anything to the citizens of Toronto about organization. When we were on the other side we heard during the war what Toronto did financially and otherwise, and we were full of admiration; everybody knew about Toronto and the wonderful success of work which was done here.

The early part of the war, to which the president has alluded, brought us many things to learn. Some of us who worked hard at military work in the early days before the war thought we were getting on fairly well in trying to learn something about the art of war. We learned a great deal more when we got to England and France in 1915; and we learned that much of what we had learned before was useless, and that we had to change our plans. The year of 1916 brought many more things which we had to learn; and those

were the days when the real consolidation, the real building, and the uniting, of the Canadian Corps was carried out, with its two, three, and finally four, divisions, under Sir Julian Byng and his very able chief of staff, General Harrington. General Byng is the man who made the Canadian Corps in the first instance.

Those were the days when we were getting our real trial, and which we on the staff were using to the best advantage in learning our staff jobs. When, afterwards, in October 1916, I had the fortune or the misfortune to be taken away from the Canadians and to be sent to Sir Herbert Plumer—I hope you will excuse me in using the first person in telling about Intelligence, because it is very difficult to tell about Intelligence when one cannot speak rather conversationally—but it was with the Second Army that I really learned what real staff work was. There I was with the most magnificent type of British staff officer. There I got under the influence of that wonderfully fine old man of the British Army, Sir Herbert Plumer. There is no army commander that is more respected and trusted in the British Army than Sir Herbert Plumer. His extraordinary influence went down, not only through the staff that was around him, but through the various army corps, and thus to the divisions that were in his army at various times.

I heard it said that no division ever came into the Second Army to form part of it and went away again without wishing it might some day come back. That is a great deal to say, and I am sure those that have been there will appreciate that. I know the Canadians would have always been glad to serve again with the Second Army. That same spirit which Sir Herbert Plumer instilled into that Second Army staff was the spirit of co-operation. His magnificent staff officer, the greatest in the British Army, Sir Charles Harrington, used to use in his various speeches a motto of three words, all beginning with "T"; and this is the motto that carried that army to such great success: "Trust, Training, Thoroughness." I suppose we can't apply those words to better advantage than to our own future in Canada.

It has been said that the regular British officers are not efficient. I totally disagree with that statement. I suppose I am better qualified to speak, after nearly three years service with them, not only in France and Belgium but in Italy and at the War Office, than others; and for thoroughness, efficiency, honesty of purpose, for industry and for straight dealing and

cheerfulness and helpfulness, I will back the British staff officer against anybody. You can well imagine my pride, as a Canadian, to find myself injected into an atmosphere of that kind; and you can well imagine how a man could do his best work in conditions of that kind. There was no bickering, and I think the Second Army staff has been a model throughout the war.

Those were the days in the spring of 1917 when we were beginning to find ourselves with regard to Intelligence. We knew a good deal about it previously; but as time went on we found a good many things we hadn't known of before, by which we could apply the various sciences and the various methods to beating the enemy. And, after all, it has been a war of scientific methods,—apart from organization, of course,—mechanical, electrical, physical, chemical, to say nothing of the aeroplane service. One of the things which gave me more pleasure than anything else was, when I was with the Second Army, sitting at the end of a number of telephones; and thinking about the chap on the other side who was twenty miles behind the German side doing the same thing that I was. If you want to beat somebody, put yourself in his place and see how he is going to do to you. That is the way to beat him.

Intelligence deals solely with the enemy. It has nothing to do with our own force at all, except in the constant co-operation with our own forces to make the information useful. Intelligence, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts—the collection of intelligence, the dissemination of intelligence, and the process of keeping the enemy from getting intelligence about you.

With regard to the collection of intelligence, which is the largest part of it, I suppose that that is a thing which appeals most to the imagination of everyone; because they naturally think of the fellow I described sitting at the end of a telephone getting information. But it is only one of the ways of obtaining information in a large force. When I tell you that in the autumn of 1917 the Second Army consisted of seven army corps, of which the Canadian was one, the Australian was another, the remaining five being Imperials; and those seven army corps each had four divisions, making twenty-eight divisions, or a total of three-quarters of a million men, with 2,500 guns and 40,000 horses, you begin to get an idea of what that means. I might add that in the battle of Messines in June we had twenty-one divisions in the Second Army; but we only used twelve of them, because it was such an extraordinary success we found we didn't need to use all of them.

The work of getting the information from the front and from all the various sources of an army like that requires a great deal of organization; a great deal of care to see that it works smoothly. Again, that means co-operation. There are four or five different sources of information which are used for intelligence purposes; and, as you know, the most important, the most reliable source, is the prisoner. When caught, prisoners frequently tell of the operations; and if a long time occurred between prisoners we went out after them. That is the origin of the "raid," and I don't need to tell you that the Canadians were the originators of the raid. We don't say that boastfully, because all the world knows it; and all the world knows that that first raid, done by the First Canadian Division in front of Messines,—in which such extraordinary success was achieved, including the capture of twelve prisoners,—was translated into all the languages of the Allies, along with diagrams.

The obtaining of prisoners, as time went on, became an art. I don't say raids were solely for the purpose of intelligence, but very largely so; and the examination of prisoners became very much an art which was highly specialized. We had to organize a corps of Intelligence officers, thoroughly acquainted with the German language; and in turn they became acquainted with the German army organization, so that as soon as a prisoner was obtained the information got from him was made immediately useful. He was asked when he came into the line, who was leading him, what towns he passed through, what men of other regiments he had seen, and where the various railways had junction points, where they had dumps of material, and what was being talked about in the trenches,—and many other things, which it would take me ten minutes to tell you about.

Many of you will ask why we placed so much reliance on what a prisoner tells us. One reason is, that the German prisoner is so disciplined that he will automatically stand to attention and tell what he knows. That is discipline. The second reason is, that he is so well-disciplined that he is afraid to lie to an officer, particularly since he has been told the British will maltreat their prisoners. That has been exploded. Then he finds, as soon as he gets in front of the officer examining him, that the latter knows a great deal about his division.

Of course we had refractory prisoners who had to be brought along for further treatment and I know you want to

know how that is done. I am not going to tell you, because we don't do it. There are many ways in which a further examination can be done by officers whose job it is to do nothing but that.

Another source of information was the documents of various kinds, maps, sketches, orders, letters, note books, charts, and all that sort of thing. Those we found on prisoners or dead men—which are especially examined under all circumstances wherever found—also in dugouts. It is needless to tell you of the details, of how this information is gathered; suffice to say that the first examination is very rapid, to pick out the stuff which will be useful at the front; and thus it is useful within an hour for tactical purposes. That is the first principle of tactical intelligence in the field, to help the troops that are fighting. Intelligence is the hand-maiden of Operations, and exists solely to help operations and to assist the troops in fighting at the front, so that information is immediately available.

The next source of information, probably, in importance is what we get from the air, from the R.A.F.; and no doubt there are some of the members here. The service of reconnaissance and the service of taking photographs formed a very large part of this work; and you can see yourself that with eyes in the air, and photographs, a great deal could be developed. We went so far in France,—and even further in Italy,—with regard to observation of railways, that we had every day the schedule and the train movements of all the railways in France and Belgium between Lille and the sea. And it got so extensive at one time that we really had a time-table made up, which we had some pleasure in comparing with the pre-war time-tables. The information with regard to railway movements has a great bearing on the movement of troops. The information obtained with regard to the movements of troops ten, twenty, and thirty miles behind the lines is very important with a view to strategic operations. It played a great part in giving us sufficient time to make preparations for any possible attack in various places. When you consider that sort of thing, you can see it gave very wide scope for the intelligence officer's imagination and his powers of guessing. After all, I think that is what develops more than anything else.

All of that information—what we call visual—comes up, in the ordinary course of events, first to the division, then to the army corps, and then to the army. It gets pretty small by

the time it gets to the army. Somebody called it a great *stationery* war. It was.

Another very important source of information was the thing you probably heard of, but not very much; and that was the listening set. At the start of the war, when the Canadians first went to France, we found that the enemy seemed to know in some occult manner just what was doing in the way of reliefs of our front line. I remember being told by a prisoner that his officer had told him that the Third Battalion had come into the line the night before. We could not believe it, and we found subsequently through officers that they got this very occult information through an electric appliance which they used in the front line, by which they overheard our telephone conversations. You can imagine how we felt on hearing that.

As time went on, the French made a device of the same kind; and we got a listening outfit of our own. We took precautions to prevent the enemy from hearing what we were talking about. It ultimately culminated in the company commander not talking on the telephone at all. In the end, the British and French together got a listening-set service which was superior to the German service. That information, of course, is the kind of thing which demands the use of the very finest German-speaking operators, in order to listen to the conversation in German on the other side of the line.

Another source of information, which I consider one of the most valuable and unique of the intelligence service—on the scientific side—was the wireless intelligence, and interception of the enemy's wireless. It was a very difficult process, getting this information and using it successfully. But, sufficient to say that the enemy had five times as much wireless in operation as we did. He depended a great deal on his field stations for passing his orders and that sort of thing. But, beyond that, there was another device developed during 1917 which was of greater use; and that was the ability to locate the enemy's wireless stations. That was done by an electrical process; by means of what they call a "detector," by which the intensity of the wireless waves going from any station was localized; and we were able to locate his stations. And it got so perfect during the summer and autumn of 1917 that our wireless intelligence officers used to say that they could show us the location of the enemy's wireless stations to within 500 yards.

From that we were able to tell—even if we didn't know

what was being said, the messages being coded—the volume of business between any two or three stations. When you realize that each enemy army corps had its own group of wireless stations; and that we were able by that means to locate the boundaries of the divisions and the army corps, and to be able to describe by synthesis the incoming relief to the division or the change of boundaries,—you will see what we had to do.

We were able during the battles of the summer of 1917 and during the autumn, sometimes to tell that a new division was going into the line three days before it actually appeared. That, of course, was of very great service to the higher command. I could go on with many instances to tell of the discovery of things of that kind, but time will not permit. I do want to speak further of the information we got from letters, such as were not yet posted. We got a great many letters written by the Germans, who were rather lax in their censorship and didn't censor their letters for some time; and the German soldiers would carry these letters around for a considerable time. In that way, we often got information right down to the minute.

What I have been dealing with has been the *gathering* of the information, but the *dissemination* of that information is very important to the troops. A great deal was done by telephone and a great deal by conversation. We issued a summary, sometimes two in a day, which went to all troops and kept them in touch with what was going on. Many of you will remember the summary, which I know you used to say was a lot of hot air; but perhaps you were not the one it was intended for. We tried to make it as useful as possible for the fighting troops.

I have not yet touched on the other side of the intelligence work; which is to protect ourselves, so that the enemy will not get information about our troops. That is called the service of contra-espionage. Of course, all well-regulated armies have spies. It is done in good armies. The Germans had them as well as we had; and they had more before the war, but a good many less before the end. The service of contra-espionage was peculiar, in our case; because we not only had the French to deal with, but Belgians and Italians as well. The civilians who lived on the frontier, many of them, had made a business of smuggling; and of course they were ready to work for any German agents who wanted to use them.

The difficulty in this, of course, was to find them and get them when working. We spent a good deal of time in doing that. In the autumn of 1917 the Second Army had a card index consisting of 40,000 cards. You will now understand the service we were doing. That doesn't mean that they were all enemy spies, but it means that every person who moved from one place to another had his movements and his business watched.

I have touched on the Intelligence in France; and with the short time available, I will get away to Italy. The flight into Italy was a most extraordinary feat, as far as we were concerned. We had been watching the catastrophe in the newspapers and in our wireless press. We were still fighting the battles of Flanders and Paschendael; and, while very much engrossed in our own job, because we knew we were beating the enemy to a standstill, we were afraid the breaking of the line in Italy was going to nullify what we were doing in France. We were still more surprised when one evening Sir Herbert Plumer got word he was to go to Italy immediately and take two or three staff officers with him to examine the situation. It was the view of the British Government, as it turned out, to send five British divisions, and the French were going to send six, to Italy. As a matter of fact, we had two and one-half days only to get started for Italy, and that in an entirely strange country we knew nothing about. The only thing I had about Italy, when the General Staff Officer asked me for some information, was newspaper clippings.

The arrival of the British in Italy I will remember all my life. The first day of the passage of British troops was such an extraordinary event, that it will always go down to history as a remarkable scene. The divisions marched through the first big town on November 19, after breakfast in the morning. The reception from the people was a wonderful one. They threw all sorts of things to the soldiers, and one began to wonder if it were not a comic opera. Finally, we got our troops into the front line after some dramatic conferences, in which General Diaz and General Plumer took part. It was with particular pride that the British fought in the line at the Piave River. Three weeks after Sir Herbert Plumer and a few of his staff, in which I was included, left his headquarters with the Second Army, we were fighting in Italy. It was a triumph not only for the British, but for the French, who were only a day or two behind us in getting into the front line. It was a triumph for the transportation methods.

There are people here who have the idea that it was the British and French soldiers in the line that stopped the Austrians. That is wrong. The Italian army defeated the Austrians at Caparetto entirely unaided. They stopped the Austrians on the Piave River before any British or French soldiers got there.

I claim that that is the measure of the quality of the Italian soldiers; who, realizing what had happened, put everything they had into the battle and saved the day. It is true, they lost 250,000 troops and 2,000 guns and 2,000 lorries in the series of engagements,—and the cause of that, I expect, will be known as the Disaster of Caparetto. There are many things said about the cause of that disaster. I think, perhaps, there are three or four principal reasons. One is, the extraordinary propaganda and insidious influence of the Germans in the north of Italy, which never stopped. When one realizes that Italy, in the first instance, was an ally of Germany and Austria, in the second instance that she became neutral for the first year of the war, and in the third instance that she threw in her lot with us, it was an extraordinary action on the part of the Italian nation. Thus there was an influence in Italy that was very hard to eradicate. And it took months and years to do so.

The Germans sent down six divisions to help out. But, because they went to Caparetto, they were sufficient to stampede the whole part of the line in which they were placed. Another cause of the disaster was that there is a political party in Italy that wanted to stop the war. That was the party that caused the delay in preventing them standing with us. The Church had some effect. But, perhaps, the condition of the soldiers themselves was partly to blame. They kept constantly getting letters from home saying people had no money, and people had no fuel and no food. All those things were partly to blame. When the time was ripe, the Germans got the Austrians up under camouflage.

In the spring, the offensive came on in France; and it was necessary to reduce the British force in Italy, and at the same time the British were taken from the Piave into the mountains for the summer. So, in April, you find us in the mountains at an altitude of 5,000 feet above the Venetian Plain, under the most magnificent mountain conditions you can imagine. The first time I walked down the slopes of the mountains I could not help but think how much it was like Muskoka, only ten times as great. It didn't seem much like

Muskoka, however, when they began shooting. It was a great experience for the British and for those who had been in France. The British Tommy soon learned mountaineering, and the intricacies of a mule instead of a horse, and the transport forces soon learned the intricacies of the mountain roads. They could not take up the lorries we had, and we had to replace them with three-ton lorries. Then the Americans brought five-ton lorries to Italy, but they soon found they were useless and had to get others.

Then came the Austrian offensive on June 15 a year ago. As far as we were concerned, it was all over in about two days. After we had been watching for days for the signs leading to the actual launching of the offensive, which had been much heralded by the Austrians; and after we had been trying to guess at what points they would attack;—on the 14th we sent out a message, a telegram to all the troops, Italian and French, to say that they might expect the Austrian attack to be launched at daybreak. As a matter of fact, it did take place at 3.30 the next morning.

The Austrians broke through a portion of the British lines by sheer force of numbers. They had two or three times as many men as we had. It took a long time to get re-inforcements up of course. The one place where they were brought to a standstill was right outside a little Canadian hut which was run by an army chaplain. It is a fact that he and his friends kept on serving coffee in a little wooden shanty—because it was not a dugout—while the Austrians were actually, with their rifles and machine guns, within 300 yards of that place, and bullets were going through the building.

While speaking of that I want to speak of the same work which was done under my observation by the Y.M.C.A. I think that too much cannot be said about the diligence, the energy, and the real helpfulness of the Y.M.C.A. throughout this whole war; and when I came home to Canada and found some criticism of the "Y," I tell you I could not understand it.

During the summer of 1918 we had quiet in Italy, but we watched our Canadian brothers in France. Of course, the tremendous work which was done by the Canadians during August and the last One Hundred Days was watched with the greatest of interest, because we ourselves in Italy had a rather quiet time until October.

I just want to say now what I have heard about the various Canadian divisions. They cannot be too highly praised. I am saying it because I heard it from the British, the French,

the Italians, the Belgians. They speak very highly of the Canadian boys and particularly of the General Officer Commanding, General Currie. Again, I say, when I come back to Canada and find some criticism of General Currie, I cannot understand it. He is a great leader, not only as a soldier, but as a true citizen of Canada.

I am just through, but I want to tell you of the last two or three days of the war in Italy. You know, the British were launched against the Austrians, in concert with the Italians and French, on the 25th of October. The crossing of the Piave River was a triumph of engineering, a triumph for everybody concerned. For two days we had to maintain bridges on the other side of a river two miles wide, because we could not get heavy enough guns across. We could only get infantry over, but on the fourth day the Austrians began to weaken, and from then on it was a complete rout. If I described it, it would make a most interesting story. With November 4, came the end of the war as far as Italy was concerned. It is not an exaggeration to say they made prisoners of 500,000, and they got something like 6,000 guns, with tremendous supplies. So the Italians can well say that they took a very large part in winning the war.

I am back to Toronto. I am going to the University and I am going into another kind of war, where education and training and co-operation is as needful as it was in the War. And I want to say that Canada's war of development during the next ten or twenty years is the war that we are all concerned in most. It is the war in which co-operation is required. I maintain, sir, that there is no branch that is more needed than the help of Practical Science in getting on with that war and making the success of it that we should.

(August 29, 1919.)

The Last Hundred Days of the War

BY SIR ARTHUR CURRIE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.*

Joint Meeting with the Empire Club of Canada, Massey Hall.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is difficult to find words which will express in a manner satisfactory to myself, my appreciation of the warmth of the welcome which Toronto has given to me. I thank you, sir, for your generous words of introduction. I regard this welcome and those words as a tribute from you here assembled, to the greatness of all Canada's overseas soldiers. There is no success with which my name has been associated but belongs to the soldiers whom I had the honor of commanding, and I am proud that to-day I have the privilege of meeting so many of the fathers and mothers of those men in the city of Toronto. I realize what Toronto has done in the war. I know of the tens and hundreds of thousands that have gone from this province and from this city to the front. I know of the tons and tons of comforts that you have sent across to our hospitals there and to the units in the field and, in that way, alleviated suffering and made life more endurable. I know of the generous millions you have poured forth for the same purpose and it is a proud moment for me to stand in the capital city of my native province and on behalf of those men tender you our most grateful thanks.

I must apologize to you inasmuch as I have no set speech ready. If I were to follow the advice of my physician I would go direct to Vancouver Island and there hunt and fish and get a little rest. He told me I should not indulge in these functions. So I said to myself when I came here that I would

*General Sir Arthur Currie, Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Corps, was a British Columbia business man, at the outbreak of the war. He developed rare ability at the front as a tactician and military organizer. To him in no small measure is due the signal success which attended the fighting of the Canadian Corps during the war, and especially during the last hundred days of the war.

simply trust to the inspiration of the moment. Your chairman has given me that inspiration. He has given it by reading what *The Times* was good enough to say, and I am going to tell you briefly something that I think will interest you. That is the story of the last hundred days of the war.

I want to preface that by making one reference to the first engagement in which the Canadians fought, the Second Battle of Ypres. I remember after that engagement took place the commander of the Second Army, Gen. Smith-Dorrien, came to me and said "I can never tell you, General, what the stand of the Canadians meant. When I heard of the retirement of the troops on the left I foresaw the greatest disaster that ever overtook British arms. And when I pictured men, transports, guns all trying to get across the Yser canal I shuddered with horror. Then the message arrived that the Canadians were holding on. I refused to believe it. I sent out my own staff and every succeeding report I received was better than the one before it." And the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General French, was good enough to say, "It was your sons and your brothers who saved the situation for the Empire." And the traditions which they established, traditions for not giving up, for determination to win, for endurance, were carried on and built upon by the succeeding men who came from Canada. We were able to build up in the Canadian corps what was universally conceded to be the hardest hitting and fighting force of its size on the Western front. I know the modesty of the men and I know that you would never gather that fact from them. But I think it is only fair that I should say it.

Let me for a moment say something about war. We picture war as a business of banners flying, men smiling, full of animation, guns belching forth, and all that sort of thing. One, somehow or other, gets the impression that there is a great deal of glory and glamor about the battlefield. I never saw any of it. I want you to understand that war is simply the curse of butchery, and men who have gone through it, who have seen war stripped of all its trappings, are the last men that will want to see another war.

On the first of last October we were counter-attacked by eight German divisions, two of which were fresh. Do you realize that meant fifty or sixty thousand Germans, all quite willing to die, coming right at us determined to kill everyone if they could get through? And we were determined that we would kill every one of them rather than let them get through.

On that day we fired seven thousand tons of ammunition into them. No wonder the ammunition factories of Canada were kept busy. It was fired to kill. If they got close to us and escaped the artillery we tried to shoot them with rifles, kill them with machine guns. If they came on, as they were quite willing to, we were ready to stick the bayonet into them. I want you to understand what war is and you cannot have war without the inevitable price.

We have fought on battlefields where it took our stretcher-bearers six hours to get out one wounded man. What these men must have suffered and endured! We fought over ground in which every inch was a shell hole, muddy and covered with unburied bodies. Now if you go to France, as many of you will, because your brave boys lie there, you will see a country, miles wide and hundreds of miles long, absolutely stripped of every form of human habitation. Where stood whole towns there is now not one brick on another. That means that fathers and mothers who have worked all their lives getting those homes together,—because in France and Belgium they are thrifty and industrious people and fond of their homes,—have lost everything. Parents have been driven away, sons have gone into the army and probably have been killed, because no country has paid the price like France. And after living as outcasts and refugees they have returned and have found not a brick of the old home in place. Everything is unspeakable desolation. There is nothing but shell holes and trenches and barbed wire where our men lived in dugouts with the rats and the lice. If they exposed themselves for a minute they were sniped and shelled night and day, when they came out to rest they were bombarded. That was the life that they lived, and that to my mind indicates their endurance, the great outstanding quality of our soldiers.

Now the year 1918 came. It brought many surprises to those who were not there. You had been led to believe that our army was victorious, that we had more men and more guns than the Boche had, that the very thing that we wanted them to do was to come on and attack us. That is what they did. On March 21, 1918 they attacked us with great success. They penetrated deeply into our lines and almost separated the British army from the French. Shortly after that they attacked again just south of Arras in early April. They attacked again north of La Bassée and again bulged our line, and the only part of the British front that did not give was the part held by the Canadian corps. It is true we were not

attacked, but the Canadian corps was protecting what was the most tempting thing for the Boche. That was the sole remaining coal fields of Northern France. If he were successful in getting these coal fields you can understand how the economic and industrial life of France would have been interrupted. He made deep inroads to the south, another to the north, until we were in an enormous salient and we were so concerned that we withdrew our heavy guns and echeloned them along the flank. You know the heavy guns in the corps would stretch twenty-seven miles and I did not want twenty-seven miles of road to be blocked by the heavy artillery. As to whether the corps played a part commensurate with its strength you can judge when I tell you that they held thirty-five miles of front, that is, one-fifth of the front held by the British army.

Then the time came when we were the only part of the British army who were not engaged and the commander-in-chief withdrew the corps from the front in order that he might have a hitting force ready to move in any direction from which attack might come. I may say that three divisions were pulled out, the second division was left in the line with the third army. Many a time I asked to get the second division out. On three or four occasions it was arranged that they go out when some new development would hinder their relief. It was actually about July 1st when they joined us. I remember very well when the divisions were moving down into our new area. As they moved in the French civilians were moving out, bundling their stuff on wagons and wheel-barrow and baby carriages, trying to get away to the rear. But when they found that the Canadians were coming they turned around and went back to their homes. You could not believe, unless you talked to the French people, what wonderful confidence they had in the ability of the Canadians to beat back any onslaught the Germans might make.

During the seven weeks that we were out we completed our organization. We had a different organization from what prevailed in the other armies. I think one great source of our strength was due to the fact that we always fought together, and as we realized through the lessons war had taught us, that our infantry, artillery, engineers, machine guns, etc., could be strengthened, we changed our organization. There is no use in waiting until the end of the war to make necessary changes and I would only like to make one reference to our organization by saying that in the *post bellum* committee's report you read in the press, that the committee on organization con-

stituted by the War Office considered that the organization that prevailed in the Canadian corps was the most satisfactory one and should be adopted by the British army in future. Efforts were made in the spring of last year to change our organization but these efforts did not prevail and I for one am more than glad that they did not. If you read the reports of Sir Douglas Haig on the retirement of the fifth army in the spring of 1918, you will see in half a dozen places reference made to the fact that the Germans caught that fifth army in the middle of reorganization. Well, no German attack ever caught the Canadian corps in the same predicament.

During the seven weeks referred to we trained our men to overcome an area dominated by machine gun fire, and when the attack on Amiens came many of our men said, "This is our training all over again. We have met all this before in practice, everything is familiar." We went back into the lines about the middle of last August, and as we never assumed a defensive attitude the Canadian corps prepared to attack. We believed that the only way to win wars was by fighting, so we prepared attacks on every front to which we went and carried the battle to the Boche. We tried to make his life miserable. We gassed him on every opportunity and on one occasion ninety per cent. of the gas in France was being thrown at the Boche by the Canadians. We never forgot that gas at the second battle of Ypres, and we never let him forget it either. We gassed him on every conceivable occasion, and if we could have killed the whole German army by gas we would gladly have done so. If our aeroplane photographs disclosed that the Boche was using certain roads we fired on those roads all night long. We shot them up with machine guns if we could, or with artillery. We never gave him any peace whatever. When we went in at Amiens we prepared to attack.

Just over a year ago I had dinner with General Rawlinson. There Rawlinson unfolded the plan he had in mind for the operation of Amiens. On August 1st, 1918, it was intended to fight only one more great battle that year. That was to be the battle of Amiens. And if success came the armies in Europe were going to sit down and wait for the development of the big American army, and the war was to be finished in 1919.

Now many people think that casualties occur only when battles are on. Let me tell you that in five months when we were in the Ypres salient, in normal warfare, except for the attack on Mt. Sorrell, we had very heavy casualties. In June

the casualties in the corps were nearly 250 a day. Casualties are going on all the time all around you. If the plans had prevailed that we were going to sit down and go through another winter's campaign, the casualties would probably have been more than occurred in the closing hundred days of the war. And the big battles would have to be fought in the spring anyway. And the Canadians would have been used the same as they were used last August because they had been regarded by the commander-in-chief as first class assault troops.

The objective of that battle of Amiens was this: We wanted to win the main lateral lines and we wanted to remove the danger of the Boche breaking in between the British and the French armies. The Canadian corps was moved down to form the spearhead of that attack. The troops on the right and on the left were ordered to take their time from and make their advances according to the wishes of the Canadian corps. We were the spearhead. Secrecy was the prime necessity, and many were the ruses that were adopted to fool the Boche. In the first place we sent several battalions up north to go into the line near Kemmell. The King of the Belgians complained to Marshal Foch that the Canadians were about to make an attack on Kemmell and he had not been informed. So well was the secret kept that the French liaison officers that were with us moved away from near Arras, went up to Kemmell and established themselves and did not know for two days that the corps was going south. Moving at night and night only, the whole corps in the space of seven or eight days was moved down south and assembled east of Amiens. I never saw troops more ready for a fight. During the time that we had been out, we trained in overcoming areas defended by machine guns. I used to go out to see how it was carried on. I went out one day and found a unit doing it very indifferently and I scolded them, and the boys say that when I get that way I am pretty forcible. I assembled the battalion, intending to make them do it over again. No bugler was on parade and I became more cross than ever. "The trouble with you is," I said "that you do not like this play warfare. I am going to send you back to the line at once." "Hurrah," they roared, "that is where we want to go."

And another thing struck me. You know for years the troops at the front had not sung. When we first went there the troops used to sing, and then for years they stopped their songs and nothing was heard. When troops marched along

there was just the steady trunch, trunch on the cobbled roads. But that night, the night before the battle of Amiens, the troops sang for the first time in years. They sang hymns and they sang, "What the h—— do we care, the gang's all here." That is the spirit with which they went into that battle and I said to my staff officers, "It is all off with the Boche to-morrow morning if we can get through to-night." And we did get through that night. We had thousands and thousands of men, thousands and thousands of tons of ammunition, thousands and thousands of gallons of poison gas for the attack. You can realize what would have happened if one of their shells had hit the gas stores in that wood. There would have been a catastrophe. However luck seemed to be with us. Fifty-three came, everybody in line, not a gun had been registered. What guns had been put in, in the few days before, were in carefully hidden positions with ammunition stored. But not a gun fired because we have instruments now which disclose the range of every gun by the flash. We can tell just exactly where a gun is to twenty feet and the Boche can also. If we disclosed the positions of our men they would know that an attack was coming but so well did our gunners know their guns that they were able without previous registration to lay down a perfect barrage. We had a great many tanks, and with one of them went a piper standing on top, playing his regimental march as cool as if on parade. The objective of that battle was to be the Amiens defence line, 14,000 yards or eight miles east of our jumping off line. I don't know how long it was estimated we would require to reach our objective but so great was the success that we were there that night. It constituted the deepest penetration that had been made by any army, German or Allied, in one day, up to that period of the war.

Now as to the results of that battle, outside the material gain the effect on morale was wonderful. The whole spirit of the army and of the nation changed. Troops that had been looking over their shoulders, looked again towards the Rhine. The army and Empire which had been very much concerned and at times despondent, saw hope dawn again. It caused a resurrection and restrengthening of our determination to win. The material results were simply that in four or five days we penetrated 24,000 yards, took 9,000 prisoners, 196 guns, thousands of machine guns, and fought and thoroughly licked sixteen German divisions. After the first four days, or on the 13th of the month,—the battle had taken place on the 8th,—we

had come up against the old Somme battlefield from which the Boche had voluntarily retired in the year 1916 leaving there the old trenches, machine gun emplacements, wire and dugouts. There are some who say that I am a bull-headed fighter, that I simply keep rushing ahead regardless of my men or of the consequences, but on the 13th when we came up against the old Somme defences I wrote a letter to the commander of the fourth army—I am sorry I have not a copy here—in which I stated that I thought the battle had gone far enough unless there was some urgent reason why it should not be broken off. The corps had won great success, its morale was very high. I recommended that the attack be transferred to the third army and that we hit down in the direction of Bapaume, an operation which had been discussed and which I had always believed could have been carried out with great success. We were not transferred to the third army, but the third did hit in on the 21st with very great success. I would like to say here that the third army was commanded by our old and trusted leader, General Byng. But no matter what the success of that army was, they would sooner or later come up against the Hindenburg system of trenches on which the Boche had staked his all.

Now, I say, the morale changed, hope came again into the breast of our War Council and our leaders. I think one of the first to say that success might come last year, and that there was no need of waiting for the big army of our neighbors to the south—I mean there was no need to wait for them to finish the war in 1919, no one realizes better than I do what help those millions of American soldiers gave to the Allied cause—one of the first was our Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig. He saw that if the Hindenburg line could be broken, the war could be finished last year. And so he withdrew the Canadian corps from the Amiens front where it had had such striking success and gave it the task of piercing the Hindenburg line.

Beginning August 26th, we began the battle of Arras. We finished that on September 2nd. In that period we had broken through six successive systems of trenches and finally broken the "Queant-Drocourt Switch" on September 2nd. The Queant-Drocourt line is the front line and support line, well wired in front, five hundred yards and then another line with more wire, six or seven hundred yards heavily wired and another line. In that battle there were nearly 10,000 prisoners taken. There were ninety-eight guns taken, a penetration of

20,000 yards made, the Hindenburg system for the first time pierced, and eighteen German divisions fought and decisively beaten.

Now I say that our chief saw that the war could be finished last year. However, it meant that we had to keep on fighting with every available man. Those who know the cost of long periods of trench warfare, the loss of life from instruments of warfare, as well as the terrible wastage in a country where all the defences would have to be new defences, because we were driving the Boche into country not previously fought over, will realize the wisdom of finishing the terrible struggle as quickly as possible when there was a chance.

Then there were conceived those four great hammer blows that finished the war. On September 26th the Americans and the French hit in away down south. On the 27th the Canadians crossed the Canal du Nord. On the 28th the second army and the French hit in on the north. And on the 29th the British fourth army hit in. These were the four great hammer blows that brought the Boche to his knees.

Now the Canadians in all their experience had never taken as formidable a position as the Canal du Nord. East of it is a marsh which was heavily wired, and to the south and behind was rising ground that gave good observation and good gun positions. We asked that our line might be extended and we took over another 3,000 yards. On the 27th the corps went across there and began what I think is one of the most remarkable operations of the war. Having crossed the canal on a narrow front we turned and spread out like a fan. By night we were on a front of 14,500 yards. My old chief, General Byng, came to see me and said. "Do you think you can do it, because you are undertaking the most daring operation that has been attempted in the war." But with long experience of what the Canadian could do, conscious of the spirit of the troops and trusting to capable leaders, I had every reason to believe that the operation could be successfully carried out. That was the day we took Bourlon Wood. The Boche made up his mind that we were not going to have that front. Bourlon Wood is the key to the whole country. We fought through it for five days and every attack we made fore-stalled a German attack. We attacked on the 28th at 6 a.m. and captured orders disclosing that the Boche had intended to attack at 8.30, so it went on for five days, a ding-dong battle, just like two wrestlers in a ring. When you are locked in a struggle like that you cannot be the one to quit, and anyway it has never been characteristic of the Canadian soldiers to quit.

The battle of Arras, I consider, was finished on October 1st and 2nd. Then we were to the north, and we held the high ground along the Cambrai-Douai road. Cambrai was only entered by Canadian troops on the morning of October 9th. We crossed the Canal du Nord, a mile and a half north of Cambrai at 1.30 a.m. and by daylight our troops were a mile and a half to the east. That operation, carried out by the fifth brigade, was one of the best little brigade operations I know of. Co-operating with them were troops of the third, and I think the old fourth C.M.R. also. We entered Cambrai and by daylight we were through it, north, south, east and west. We regard the battle of Cambrai to have taken from September 23rd to October 12th. In that operation we made a penetration of 30,000 yards, took twenty-two field and heavy guns, thousands of machine guns, and thirteen German divisions were met and defeated. These thirteen had been re-inforced by other battalions. So up to that time, which was the closing day of the great struggle which began on August 8th, the Canadian corps had met and defeated forty-seven different German divisions.

Then there came a month of driving the enemy hurriedly across open country. The largest operation which took place in the last month was on November 1st, when the city of Valenciennes was taken, the key is Mount Huy to the south. Mount Huy had twice been assaulted and twice retaken previously. Our line was extended so that it was included. We captured it by about one thousand four hundred troops on the morning of November 1st. We suffered eighty men killed and three hundred wounded; we buried between eight hundred and one thousand Boches, and we took eighteen hundred prisoners. Ten days later the corps were in front of Mons and the next day the armistice came into effect.

I am going to make another statement about Mons, although I have made it two or three times already. Orders which had been issued by the commander-in-chief, not direct to me but coming down through the usual channel, G.H.Q. to the army and then to the corps,—were that there should be no relaxation in the pressure on the enemy during the visit of the German plenipotentiaries to Marshal Foch's headquarters. In consequence of that order, Canadians have always had a great respect for orders, we continued the pressure as it had been going on for days. The German plenipotentiaries agreed to the terms of the armistice at five o'clock on Monday morning, November 11th. Before five o'clock nobody knew whether

they were going to agree, but before they agreed Mons was in our possession. No order by me, verbal or otherwise, ordered an assault on Mons and Mons was never assaulted. You do not assault a city in these days without artillery preparation. I am an honorary citizen of Mons, and the document which was presented to me with that distinction records the fact that no British shell was fired into the city of Mons. About half-past seven that morning we got word that the armistice was to go into effect at eleven o'clock and orders to that effect were immediately sent out. But do you know there were units engaged in the closing days who absolutely would not come out of the line. I know a battalion whose period of relief came and they would not quit fighting. You cannot understand how sick we all were of the war, nor our anxiety of finishing it as soon as possible, if there was any chance of success. Your sons and brothers wanted to see it out. They wanted to be done with the cursed thing. They never want to see any more war.

Now these things are what your fellow citizens did. These men have come back. These are your own boys who have come back and ask to be absorbed again into the national life of this country. For them I appeal to every business man here present, I appeal to every woman here present, that they do everything in their power to see that not a single soldier goes without work. I don't know all the men of the Canadian corps but I know the spirit that they stand for. These men do not want sympathy, or something for nothing. They were an asset before they left this country. They are a greater asset now.

Every year before the war you took into this country hundreds of thousands of men who were not of your own flesh and blood, who did not speak your language. You could absorb them into the national life of your country and it did not seem to be any problem. Now these men who have come back are your very own. Their bodies have been exposed as a living bulwark on the battlefields of Europe to save for you this nation of Canada. And Canada owes a debt to these soldiers and I know Canada is willing to pay the debt. I do not want you to be impatient with the boys. It takes some time for them to resume again their former life. It will call for the exercise of patience and tolerance on the part of the employer but I appeal to you to give these men jobs and pay them better than you ever paid them before.

I know also that there are pernicious influences at work in

this country trying to wean the soldier from his high ideals. The most pernicious propaganda is being circulated. There is only one way to meet that, by counter propaganda and by seeing that every soldier has work and is made contented. These men have fought for law, order and decency and they want it more than ever now.

Just for a moment I want to refer to those who are not coming back. Fifty thousand of our comrades lie buried in the fields of France and Flanders. They gave their lives cheerfully that what the British Empire stands for should endure, should not be destroyed. There is not one of them who would want to be here this afternoon if he knew that a fellow countryman had to take his place. Let me tell you a little story. At the Battle of Vimy Ridge, a corporal went out with his patrol of seven or eight. They were engaged in scouting and it was necessary to get the information and rush it back to headquarters as quickly as possible. They were caught by hostile machine gun fire and to move, meant certain death. The corporal realized how important it was that the information he had should be sent back and he said to his comrades, "I am going over there. When I do you beat it." What he meant was "I am going to make a dash. I am going to draw the machine gun fire. You get away and save yourselves." The message reached headquarters. But the corporal lies buried near an old gun pit on the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge. This was the spirit of the men. They have come home with that spirit and I know you will interest yourselves in them. To me it seems that there should be no returned soldier problem. If there is a spirit of unrest I do not think the returned soldier is going to cause it. I can understand his feelings. It may be caused by men who did not, like him, expose their bodies for \$1.10 per day, but made a great deal more than that. These are the men who are responsible for any unrest.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen for this honor, and anything, as I said before, you have done for me in the way of formal tribute I accept from you as a tribute to the men whom it was my privilege to command.

Speaking in reply to an address from Great War Veterans' Association, Sir Arthur Currie said: I want to be associated with the veterans and I want to interest myself in their problem. I think the first thing is to take care of the widows and the orphans of those who are not coming back. I think the next charges are those men who have lost maybe both arms,

or both legs, and who are not able to work. And then comes the returned soldier himself. He will stand with all good citizens for what is right for our country.

Reference is made in your address to the new appointment I have just taken over. I am not a militarist, I never want to see war again, but I want to tell you that this war cost the nations of this world twenty-six million casualties, and the greatest military experts of the time say that if Great Britain could have put an army of 500,000 into the field at the commencement, the war would not have taken place. I say it is the greatest folly for any country to be unprepared. None of us want to see another war and I am not a believer in great standing armies or anything like that. But I believe that there can be introduced into this country a militia system that will give the people full value for their money. If any emergency should arise requiring the mobilization of the militia force, out of the militia of this country will arise a force which will be able to fulfil its duty, and if ever war comes again our militia system will be of real service.

(September 16, 1919.)

Canada and the Empire

BY LORD FINLAY.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that I am profoundly touched by the warmth of your welcome. It has been to me a great delight to be in Canada, of which I had heard so much but where I had never before been, physically at least. I have seen enough of Canada to realize how true was the saying which Thackeray uttered concerning the acquisition of Canada by the first Pitt, "Fortune presented him with the splendid gift of Canada." How splendid a gift that was which he received at the hands of fortune I have, during the last few weeks, had some opportunity of realizing.

It is true that I have not seen the whole of Canada. I think it would take a lifetime, almost, even to scratch the surface of Canada in the way of sight-seeing. I have not got further west than Winnipeg. I have not seen those magnificent corn fields which stretch from Winnipeg far westward. I have not seen those Rockies, which, I am told by those who are familiar with mountaineering, beat Switzerland. I have not seen the coast, the margin of the Pacific of which we hear so much, and which always goes by the name of "the coast," par excellence, I understand, in North America.

But I have seen quite enough; and I think anyone who has seen the Province of Ontario, even by itself, must realize what a future this country has before it. You seem to me to have everything. You have got the capacity for unlimited agricultural production of corn and everything you desire. You have got Nature in her widest aspect; which, owing to the hospitality of my friend Mr. Nesbitt, I have just had the opportunity of realizing. You have got scenery which cannot be surpassed in the world; and, I believe, with her great resources, Canada should develop more and more. Therefore, what a stroke of

*Lord Finlay who was successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and finally Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, was invited to Canada to address the Annual meeting of the Dominion Bar Association.

fortune it was which gave such a heritage to the British Empire.

Gentlemen, in looking over the history of Canada, everyone must be struck by the devoted loyalty which it has always shown to the British Crown and the British Empire. The very beginnings of Upper Canada as a settlement of any great extent were due to that great attachment to the Crown which has characterized and, I believe, always will characterize, Canadians. And, in 1812, we all know how that attachment was proved on many a well-fought battle field. We are living, as far as wars near at home are concerned, in quieter times; but in Canada itself a magnificent manifestation of loyalty has been called forth by the visit of the Prince, to which your chairman has alluded. I do not believe that anywhere within the limitations of the Empire would the heir to the Crown have received a warmer welcome than that which he received in Canada. And such a Prince draws the bonds of Empire even closer than they were before.

Gentlemen, the whole Empire has been drawn closer of late years, closer together, more firmly welded together, under the discipline of war. It is a stern discipline, but good comes out of evil. It has come out of evil in the present case. And out of the furnace of war there emerged a more closely compacted Empire, an Empire more sensible in every part that it is one Empire and that every portion of the Dominions of the King are members one of another. It is impossible not to say that when Germany so lightly embarked upon the war now happily concluded, she thought the British Empire would not stand the strain of a great war. She expected that the British Empire, not being based on military autocracy, being based merely on the ties of race and mutual affection, would fall to pieces under the strain of self-interest—which game Germany thought she could play. Sorely were the Germans disappointed.

I believe that great feeling of irritation which fell to Germany at seeing your troops in Europe was due to the fact that they found those whom they hoped would shrink away from the Mother Country, but who crossed the 2,000 miles of sea to have the pleasure of fighting the Germans. You can perfectly understand the feelings of disappointment and irritation. Instead of the joints of the Empire being loosened, they became firmer, more flexible but stronger. And you had in the field a body of Canadian troops who, I believe, have never been surpassed in the history of the world for discipline or

for courage. You can quite understand the irritation of the Germans, and one has to remember with regret that that irritation sometimes urged them on to deeds which even the Germans must know to be a shame. They thought to terrorize the Canadians. Little did they know their men; and for every cruelty that was inflicted upon Canadian prisoners or Canadian wounded a hundred Canadians flocked to the field of battle to avenge the wrongs that had been done.

Gentlemen, the soldiers of the Empire have fought magnificently; and it is to them that we owe the decisive result in the way of victory which has attended the efforts of the Empire as a whole. But we can never forget what we owe to the Navy. Except on rare occasions, the work of the navy is less spectacular than that of the army. But we know how, during the Napoleonic wars, it was to the silent pressure of the Navy of England that ultimate victory was to a great extent due. And we have witnessed the very same phenomenon during the war which is just over. The Navy; by its work in guarding the shores of every part of the British Empire; by its work in cutting off German trade, direct or indirect; by the heroic courage during those rare opportunities of bringing the foe to battle; and by that magnificent discipline which triumphed over every danger; surmounted the long years of waiting until the end should come.

I think we may be more than proud of our Navy—more proud than ever we were. And I think that we are all beginning to realize that the real base of the British Empire is upon the sea. We have often read in history of Empires which had a basis of a different kind. The Norsemen of old had an Empire whose base was so entirely on the sea that they commanded but a fringe of land on the shores of countries which joined the sea they dominated. Great Britain dominates the sea. It would never do to blind ones eyes to the fact that the Empire, in its mutual cohesion, in its prosperity, in its very existence, owes everything to the Navy which brought it into being and which guards it now.

Gentlemen, the community of race, common loyalty to the Crown, are the foundations of unity of the Empire. But the unity of the Empire brings corresponding conditions to every party. The response made in the supply of men to take part in the field of battle from every part of the Empire has been magnificent; but I think that we all realize that, to a very great extent, the Dominions, and more particularly the distant Dominions, enjoy the proud position they occupy because of

the Navy. What would be the future of, say, Australia, if Australia were not linked to that Mother Country which with the rest of the Empire dominates the sea. We must always remember that it is the unity of the Empire, it is to that predominance on the sea which springs from the unity of the Empire, which gives the British Empire its proud position in the world; and which gives safety to every part of it, and more particularly to the more distant parts of it.

Gentlemen, I think you all realize what sacrifices the Mother Country has made. No one can hear without emotion of what has been done by Canada. It is an inspiration to hear, as I have heard since I came to Canada, of a father and five sons all serving in the armies of the Crown against the Germans. I think that in Canada you realize that the Mother Country has not been behind in the race. For the first time in her history, England has become, not merely the greatest of all naval powers, but one of the greatest of all military powers. She has put millions of men in the field, and you will hardly find a home in England which has not sustained losses that never can be repaired in doing its duty by the country and by the Empire. The Mother Country has astonished the world by her sacrifices. She has proved herself worthy of her splendid children across the seas, and they have proved themselves worthy of her. I think our motto may well be that which is so familiar to all of us, "United we stand, divided we fall."

And, if there is one lesson which has impressed itself on the minds of all of us as a result of this war, it is the absolute necessity of retaining the Empire one and indissoluble. You hear a great deal of talk sometimes about the freedom of the seas. That is a phrase which has been a good deal in the mouths of those who are not over friendly either to the great Dominions, such as Canada, or to the Mother Country, England. The freedom of the seas does not mean taking any steps, such as the Germans would have liked to have taken, which would cripple the efficiency of England as Mistress of the Seas.

The true freedom of the seas consists in rendering impossible such outrages upon the seas as the Germans committed. The submarine campaign was, I think,—I am certain,—the most horrible ever undertaken in the history of the world. You had systematic and cold-blooded attempts to starve Great Britain into submission, and to starve it how? Not by any weapon known to international law, but by the systematic

destruction of merchantmen even with their crews, and without warning. It was executed with great risk to the lives of those on board the merchant vessels; and with the certainty of untold suffering, more particularly to the women and children on board. Such things were an outrage upon humanity and an outrage upon international law.

These things were done in the hope of reducing England to submission, but the attempt failed. And why did it fail? It failed very largely because the Germans had entirely miscalculated the courage and the endurance of our merchant marine. They thought that they would create panic, that ships would not put to sea, that men would refuse to face those dangers to which they were exposed by the torpedo in passage through waters which ought to have been safe from everything except the well-recognized means which international law recognizes as between one belligerent and another in the case of merchantmen using the sea upon lawful occasions. Gentlemen, the Germans were baffled because our sailors refused to be frightened. They went on doing their duty; and the whole calculation, on the strength of which Germany embarked on her career of crime by this submarine campaign, was utterly baffled and defeated. While we appreciate the services of the Royal Navy let us never forget what we owe, almost as great a debt, to the sailors of our merchant vessels, who faced in the discharge of duty dangers as great as those which were faced by the blue jackets of the Royal Navy; and who faced them without the excitement and exhilaration of battle, and without the same results that might be expected in the way of glory to the company. All honor to them. Let us never forget what we owe to our merchant marine as well as to the Royal Navy.

To-day, it is plain that the submarine campaign of Germany was not only a great crime but a great blunder. It laid Germany open to retaliation; to retaliation justified by the law of nations; retaliation for what Germany was doing by way of murders and outrage upon the seas; retaliation in quite a different form from those outrages, which were such as no man of our race would ever stoop to; retaliation against the trade with Germany or from Germany, which was very effective in the process of bringing Germany to her knees.

We have all heard of the blockade. Blockade, in the ordinary sense of the term, was impossible in the case of Germany; because the Germans' sea bases were really inaccessible to our vessels of war. Some of them were in the Baltic, protected by

mines; and Germany drew her supplies from other and neutral countries; and the reprisals, which the submarine campaign justified and rendered necessary, were directed against that indirect supply to Germany from vessels through neutral countries. Gentlemen, a great deal of criticism was bestowed, in the earlier stages of the war, upon the way in which the blockade of the Navy was used for the purpose of blockading Germany. A great many of those criticisms were, to my mind, characterized by more zeal than discretion or knowledge. If a great deal of the advice which was tendered to the Admiralty and Foreign Office had been followed in the earlier stages of the war it might have had the effect of embroiling us with every neutral nation in the world.

The Foreign Office and the Admiralty knew their business. They bided their time; and when the outrages committed by Germany at sea rendered those reprisals to which I have referred justifiable according to the law of nations, England struck, and struck home. It was due to the conduct of our affairs by the blockade committee,—and I venture to add the name of the Minister of Blockade, Lord Robert Cecil, that worthy son of a great father,—it was due to the way in which the blockade was carried out, with caution and yet with efficiency, in a great measure that we were able to bring Germany to her knees. We, of course, beat the Germans at their own game. We beat them on land. They thought they were the supreme military nation and that no other force could stand up to them. We let them see their mistake. We also exercised pressure upon Germany which, every one who has followed the series of events knows, had a very great share in bringing Germany to her knees and attaining that triumphant conclusion of the war in which we have all rejoiced.

Gentlemen, I think we may look forward to the peace of the world, being assured by the close friendship which exists and which always will exist between Great Britain and America. And when I say America, I mean the great Dominion of Canada to which the Mother Country owes so much. I mean also the United States of America which, during the last eighteen months of the war, cast in their lot with us; and did most effective service in the field in France and in carrying out those naval operations of which I have already spoken. It would not be correct to say that the peace of the world depends entirely upon the English-speaking races in North America; there are a great many people who speak French; and we have the great country of France, which in this war

has shown the heroism of that race more than ever, which with your assistance and with ours, has repulsed a treacherous and embittered attack against her very existence; and which has come out of this great struggle in which she has lost so much with a still higher reputation than ever she bore in the history of the world for chivalry and for everything that makes a nation great.

Gentlemen, I think that we may be of good cheer with regard to the future of the world. Whatever may be the future of that League of Nations of which we hear so much, as long as the great countries to which I have been referring hold together I believe that the future of the world is safe; and what I have seen in Canada assures me that in the great future which lies before Canada, Canada will play a part worthy of her past history, worthy of the history of that Empire of which she is so great a part, and which is destined to be of untold advantage to the world; in the interests of which as well as in her own, as well as in the interests of the Empire to which she belongs, Canada has shown that her sons can fight so gallantly.

Gentlemen, I know that this is not the time for long speeches, and I am drawing to a close. But before I sit down I should like once again to tell you how overwhelmed I am by the kindness which I have received since I came to Canada. The welcome that you have given me here to-day goes to my heart. I shall carry back with me to the Mother Country the warmest recollections of your country and of your hospitality; and all I can say is that I look forward to a very bright future indeed for that country which is so indelibly printed on my memory, and which will never fade, in view of the many acts of kindness of which I have been the object while I have been in America. I thank you, gentlemen, with all my heart.

(September 23rd, 1919.)

Canada's New Place in British Thought

BY MR. PERCY HURD, M.P.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is most kind of you to make me your guest here to-day. You have provided me with a delightful interlude in one of my periodical Canadian holidays. Your president has just read to you a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and on this occasion he speaks the voice of every leader of account that I know of in British life, whether Unionist, Liberal, Coalitionist, or Conservative. The same sort of conception is gradually spreading itself through English thought; the conception that we have here a new phenomenon in the world, a new and great experiment at work, an experiment in the expression of free democracy; and that is the thought embodied in what the Chancellor of the Exchequer says to you gentlemen, "We in England cordially welcome the new national dignity that has been accorded Canada. She stands before the world as a partner nation in the British Commonwealth of nations, and we in this country look forward to fruitful co-operation with her in many problems of common interest."

Now, it is very pertinent to ask how it comes about that Canada does occupy this new place in British thought. You gave England one of the great surprises of history in August, 1914. Canada, a community outside the range of European thought and European entanglement; Canada, living on her own continent, immersed in her own problems,—some of them continental, some of them national,—that community of different races assembled from different portions of the world; that community at that critical moment saw as in a flash that there was a right and there was a wrong, and that freedom was there and tyranny there; and, without a moment's hesita-

*The Cable Dispatches of "Windermere" have been a feature of Canadian News. In his private capacity as Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P., Windermere is a strong supporter of the Lloyd George Administration.

tion, without counting the cost, she said, "Whatever happens, all our weight goes on the side of right and freedom as we see it."

Not many years ago, before the war, one of the greatest of British statesmen was discussing the world's problems with a distinguished Canadian. He said, "It is quite true that at any moment the clouds always gathering and re-gathering over Europe may burst, and England may be immersed in a great conflict. But, for God's sake, do not let us live in a fool's atmosphere. Do not let us imagine that Canada can or will send help to England. It is not to be expected." We know now how far wrong he was. I know Canadian statesmen, who, talking privately,—and, in a sense, publicly—four or five years before the war said much the same sort of thing. I remember one saying, "Well, at a pinch 10,000 men might cross the Atlantic." In Canada, in August 1914, I do not suppose there were many Canadians who thought that Canadian participation would exceed 50,000 men; but as the problems became more intense Canada put more and more into that struggle, with the result that you know.

Are you surprised that Canada to the Englishman should mean something it has never meant before? It has meant comradeship in common ideals, a new kinship. Take my native village, Gloucester, in England. Last September, walking down the village, I happened to overtake a farmer. I said, "Good morning, quite a touch of Canada in the air," which is that nip and tang you get on some Canadian September mornings. He wheeled around and said, "What do you know about Canada?" "Well," I said, "I have lived in Canadian atmosphere all my life in England. What do you know about Canada?" He said, "My boy is in Canada. His mother was opposed to his going, but he went, and he is doing all right. Oh, yes! We get letters from him pretty regularly." I said, "In this little village of Gloucester, how many letters come in from Canada in a month?" He replied, "Well, our John writes one; the widow's boy over there, he writes," and he went on and proved that there were six letters coming in from Canada every month. He said, "We push them around, and we talk about them." Now, that is happening in pretty well every British village, more or less; and has been happening for some years in increasing momentum in England and Scotland.

Take a little Sussex village where I was the other day. It is a beautiful little village, green sward and picturesque

church, etc. I went into that church with nothing farther from my thoughts than Canada. In the porch I saw a Roll of Honor—boys of that village all gone out to fight in the war. Do you know that of the thirty names on that list, six of them were Canadians who had gone over to Canada, joined Canadian regiments; and their careers were being followed with anxious care and loving thought because they said, "They belong to us. They belong to Canada, but also to us."

Just two or three days before I sailed I was in Oxford. I was going to a meeting in the center of Oxford culture; and I thought, "Well, if I were a resident I should be spending the morning on the river enjoying the beauties of nature rather than crowding into the lecture hall"—it was a summer lecture course to which teachers come from all parts of England to try to get an impression of the new intellectual stimulus centered there. I was expecting a scattered audience, but the place was packed, and the galleries, too; and all to hear a very ordinary, humble British M.P. talk on Canada. They were all as busy as bees, taking notes; and when this speaker finished speaking,—he spoke about fifty minutes,—they all crowded around and asked fresh questions. Those three snapshots give an impression of what is going on in knitting these home ties between the two countries.

There are 60,000 war brides coming to Canada. Some were crowded on the boat on which I came over. They are English girls, and many of them had English babies, and very fine little chaps they were. All that means new ties, new comradeship. And I say that this relationship, this comradeship, is one which no gold can buy and which no wise statesmanship will ignore.

Now, how are we to give it its fullest expression? My own feeling is, speaking as an individual Member of Parliament and a very close observer of Canadian happenings, that the time has come when Canada should realize her new place in the world by giving quite new and serious thought to her representation in the Old Country. What happens when the United States is choosing an ambassador to reside in London? The President and his immediate counsellors think once, twice, twenty times; until they are quite sure they have got the man who will typify in England the very best culture in the United States and the ripest experience in that country. Surely the time has come when Canada, seeking to choose representatives in the Old Country—I am making no aspersions—but Canada, entering upon a new plane, may well stop for a few moments

and ponder on the enormous importance of having representation in England which will make every one of us feel, "That is Canada at her best." I want to see a Canadian in London who will stand on the same plane as a Choate, a Reid.

I am visiting Canada. I have certain business to do when I am here, although I am here on a holiday. I said to myself it would be very useful if before arriving in Canada a certain matter I have to attend to with Canadians here, could be explained to them by letter. So, before I sailed I wrote that letter. It arrived in Montreal five days after I did, and I came on a slow boat. I am here as a visitor to Canada. So far as cables are concerned, I am absolutely cut off from my family. Why should I not, seeing the progress of cables and wireless, why should I not be able to communicate with my family with the same ease as if I were an American coming here from New York? War conditions imposed difficulties for the time being, but those difficulties are being removed. Surely the time has come when the men of Canada, I do not care whether politicians or business men, or both, shall sit down and tussle with these problems and see that generous communication shall be established between these two countries, as good as science can allow; and bring thoughts from home to home, from business men here to business men there, from politicians here and there; so that these thoughts, feelings of good fellowship, shall flow with perfect freedom between the two countries.

Sitting next to me on board the steamer was an American, and you know how friendly one gets with one's neighbors at the meal table on a fairly smooth trans-Atlantic voyage. I said, "You are an American?" He said, "Yes, born in Virginia. I have been a professor in the Alberta University." I said "What do you come to England for?" He said, "You will laugh." I said, "Let me guess, you went over to talk about the illimitable possibilities of the Canadian west, and the means by which that fruitfulness and productiveness might be blended to the buying needs of England." He said, "Oh no, far away from that. I went to England from Alberta University to give a course of lectures to the Oxford students on the Poets Laureate."

Well, gentlemen, we laugh at it. But there is something very fine in that, and there is in it a suggestion of what education here and education there may do in strengthening those ties which are an invaluable asset in the upbuilding of any community of peoples. You have this liberty of Empire in

partnership expressed for the first time by Austen Chamberlain; you have that liberty given statutory effect in British legislation,—permanent statutory effect, by which you do not interfere in the fiscal system of Britain and Britain does not interfere with yours; each is master of its own. But where there are British duties imposed, it has been the established practice of the British parliament to say, "Canada as a member of the Empire family shall receive a preference on these duties." But do not let us be impatient; do not let us forget that we in Canada and we in England, just as the rest of the world, are struggling to find our feet after one of the world's greatest catastrophes. It is no good being impatient, saying, why don't you do this in England, or that in Canada, to make this partnership far more effective immediately. The principle is there, the wish is there, the intention is there; and we must have a little patience so that it may find its fullest expression.

Now it is quite obvious to me, even though I have spent only a few days in Canada, that you in Canada, like ourselves in England, are up against very grave problems. I see Canada, almost whether she wishes it or not, by virtue of her expansion industrially, pushing her influence here and there over the face of the globe. In Hamilton, I see them making things for Roumania; in London I see the authorities helping to establish trade between Canada and Greece and Serbia; I see new associations with France and Belgium, and enormous association between yourselves and the United States; and, as I hope, a growing association between yourselves and the United Kingdom. Canada, by the conditions of her growth and industrial expansion, is being thrown out into a new sphere and on to a new plane; and out of those new trading conditions new thoughts will inevitably grow treaties and other relationships. Now, looking at it all from London in a very sympathetic way, I say to myself, "Do not let us Canadians have any craven fear of being great."

I went to Ottawa to listen to the peace discussions, and very interesting they were. And what I have to say as an Englishman watching these Canadian problems, watching this new life bubbling up, is this, "Don't worry over-much about precise definitions. Don't stand on exact constitutional niceties." After all, we British people have always found that pays, even in government relations as in personal relations, even those which were defined in no text books, outside the scope of lawyers.

We have come to a new conception of Kingship; the old

has toppled off its throne. We in England, you in Canada, have got this new conception of Kingship,—a constitutional monarchy which will pour oil where oil is needed between the classes; move about like the Prince in Canada, with a spirit of good fellowship, even able to do what no man in politics can do; but able to bring to bear a sweetening influence. Nowhere in England will you find the King and Queen received with more warmth of heart than in the industrial centers, like my home in the north of England. We have found a new definition of Kingship. It meant flag-waving, after-dinner oratory, and all that kind of thing. All that has had its day, but we are entering upon another day in which Empire means something different. We mean, fashioning a new form of co-operation between nations of equal status under one King, and united by common traditions and aspirations with the outside world. The new conception is not yet in the dictionaries.

Now we are coming to a new conception of the word nations. In Ottawa they were asking, "What is a nation?" What silly nonsense to talk about a nation without Sovereign Rights. It is, if you go by text books; but if you go by common sense,—sagacity,—then it is not nonsense. It is the finest experiment of political evolution that, I think, the world has ever seen. Therefore, the idea which I, coming as a visitor to Canada, and your guest to-day, the idea I would like to leave with you as my idea, is the idea that Canada is to-day absolutely mistress of her own destinies. The future is in her own hands.

We are having next year an Imperial Conference which is to deal with those questions. All the statesmen of the Empire, Canadian, New Zealand, Australian, South African, and British, will participate. I hope that conference will be held in Ottawa. I would like that conference to be held here in the atmosphere of nationhood that is finding new expression in all manner of ways. It would very materially widen the horizon of all those statesmen; and I hope the Canadian government, although they are submerged in great problems, I hope they may find time to send a sincere message of invitation to have that conference held in Ottawa. I raised the question in the House the other day and Bonar Law said, "That is the first time I ever heard of the suggestion." I hope he will hear of it again. Then I read in one of the Toronto papers this morning, a correspondent no doubt as wise as myself has sent the message across, that a committee

is in session in London determining what the share shall be of each overseas Dominion in the naval defence of the future. I do not know of any such committee; but I know that Canada's naval policy will be exactly what Canada desires, as expressed through her parliament; and anybody that puts forth these ideas, that anybody of account in England is seeking in subterranean or other ways to impose upon Canada any political ideas, or any conditions or any other ideas, Canada does not desire, is a back number, an absolute back number.

But while there is a new Canada, there is also a new Britain. Do not let us forget to recognize that. And it is a Britain which is faced with some of the greatest problems any nation will face in the history of the world. Think of the position disclosed just before Parliament arose for holidays. The Chancellor of the Exchequer came down and said "I am sorry to inform the House that my budget estimates are not being realized. As a matter of fact we are spending ten million dollars more per day than our revenue, in clearing up the war." The Cabinet held four sittings on one day to face that new situation. It was brought about by the extreme difficulty of demobilizing the bureaucracy, the established bureaucracy, created by abnormal war conditions.

Largely owing to the valor of the soldiers of the British Empire, the war ends suddenly although you have made preparations for the possible extension of the war for two years. You cannot, here and there, at one moment cut off all that expenditure. And it comes about that, owing to extraordinary difficulties in the labor situation, output greatly decreased, especially the output of coal—and of course it is on that export of coal to foreign countries that England based her import trade. And this decrease in coal output means shortening of the output in the great cotton industry of Lancashire, and also shortening of the output in the great industrial centers of Yorkshire and on the Clyde.

England, in fact, is on the anvil, and is being hammered into shape. But I have never known a great period in history where the Englishman with his back to the wall does not come out a victor. There is in him that immovable character, slow but sure footed. It takes him a long time, sometimes an irritatingly long time, to move; but there is something tenacious about him, he never loses hold. Through the terrible experiences of the war period, as you in Canada, so in England, there was that tenacity: "Whatever happens, that is

our goal, and we will not rest until we get there." He did get there; and he will get to the goal in the industrial situation.

Already, new elements have come into play in the labor situation. They have very fine labor leaders in England. They are all a very fine type of men and men who have a conception of England which is not the Soviet conception or the Bolshevik conception, the latter being a conception that is perhaps held by ten per cent. of labor. Ten per cent.—but a very voluble ten per cent., and capable at times, if it were not for the steadying influence of the great body of sane English labor people, of throwing England over the precipice. But give England time, as she shall get time in the spring, to think things over. Let the wives get to work on it. When the strike pay comes in, and gets less, and she says, "Well, John, this is a pretty poor showing. Don't you think you had better get back to work. They have given you more than double wages, shortened your hours, given you very fine new conditions, don't you think you had better get in and enjoy these conditions and get our home life going again?" That is the sort of feeling gradually finding expression. So, for my part, I have no fears for England or Scotland. I must be very careful and include Scotland, for my wife is Scotch.

What about the Irish? I have not the good fortune to be Irish, but the Irish people in the United Kingdom will be given their dues, of that I am certain. And when the men of good will are really less engrossed with these war problems, they will realize what we realize now, that until Ireland is made to participate in a spirit of good will and good fellowship with the rest of the United Kingdom,—England, and Scotland, and Ireland, and Wales, will not realize their full possibilities. But I won't branch out into the Irish question. I see that a worthy Canadian senator now in England has been good enough to tell Mr. Lloyd George and the British parliament exactly how to settle it. I have no doubt that, if you wish information on the Irish question, when he returns to Canada you will find him primed full to the neck.

On Armistice Day, I was in the Strand in London with an American friend. He said, "Well, you English people are the queerest people on God's earth." I said, "That is probably true." He said, "It is Armistice Day, do you know it?" I said, "I heard of it." He said, "This bloody conflict is at an end, do you know that?" I said, "Well, I ought to." He said, "Think what you have done. Think what you English

people have done. Here you were, not a fighting nation. You had a little, tiny army; the Kaiser was not wrong, if you think in numbers, in calling it a contemptible army, although it gave him a warm time; but it was a contemptible army. And you, a peaceful nation, the necessity arising, built up that army to the greatest military force the world has ever seen. Your system of Empire was such that armies came in from Canada, from Australia,—voluntarily, with no compact, no inducements offered; and you created a war machine out of nothing, of such high efficiency that even the great military machine of Germany has been crumbled in the dust. As occasion arose, your industries here were turned into arsenals; and poured out munitions for France and Russia and all the Allies; and even the United States when she came in. Your resources in money fed those fighting nations to keep going the battle for freedom. Your best resources, you put them all into the scale; and, above all, your navy kept clear all the lines of communication; and no American soldier, without the navy, could have crossed the Atlantic. Without the navy, no American or Canadian soldier could have found his way to the battle front. Without the navy, none of those vast armies could have crossed the channel."

He said further, "We, as Americans, helped you all we could when we finally got in. We helped you in the spring of 1917, and we are very proud of what we did. We helped you again in 1918, and we were very proud of that. We are not forgetting for a moment our troops' accomplishments, but the burden was yours, and the victory is yours; and here I am, and what do I see. Here is a flag, and there is a flag, and there is a flag! Bless my soul! If we were in my country and we had done one-tenth of what you have done, you could not even see the sky for flags. And where are your joy-bells? I am told this morning there was one peal from St. Martin's. Why, in my country you could not have heard yourself in the streets for joy-bells. President Wilson would have been at the head of a great procession going through the streets waving flags, and every boy and girl would have been out with a dinner-bell ringing it. Why, you are like mutes at a funeral."

"Yes," I said, "We are. But do not forget this: over every town, every village in this country; and also in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; over every center of population there still rests a cloud of anxiety and sorrow." He said, "I

forgot that. Let us shake hands over that. Well, my point is good just the same. You are the queerest people on earth; but, my heavens! you deliver the goods."

Now, gentlemen, all I say is that we delivered those goods together in every aspect of political life and public activity. We delivered those goods together, and we are not now going to forget that great lesson in comradeship and good fellowship. I know we are not. In conclusion, I thank you very sincerely for the patience with which you have listened to me, and I wish you every prosperity in that new life that has come to Canada.

(October 8, 1919.)

Experiences During the War

BY SIR BERTRAM HAYES, R.N.R., K.C.M.G.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I do not know whether you know the fact that this is my first venture in speech making and therefore I feel deeply the honour that has been conferred on me by the Canadian Club in asking me to make my first venture. But if anything goes wrong on my part don't blame me, but blame your secretary; he is the most persistent man I ever met.

I was not asked to make a speech. I was asked to try to relate some of my experiences during the war. I do not know that I had very many of an interesting nature, but I will tell you what I can, and if it fills out the time, that is all that is expected.

When war broke out I was in command of the "Adriatic" lying in New York harbour, and I was staying with my friend, Mr. Vickers, who you very kindly asked to be here to support me to-day, but unfortunately he could not come, being the middle of the week. If it had been the beginning of the week he would probably have come, and I probably would have done better. When war broke out it took the Admiralty some little time to find out where the German raiders were, and the ships were held up in New York for some few days, and it became a question of whether the "Adriatic" or the "Olympic" should be the first to sail. There were a few passengers crossing and the first ship was to take them. They thought perhaps because the "Olympic" was the more valuable ship that I should make the first venture, and we sailed (I forget the date) with about fifty people on board, with orders not to keep to the regular tracks, to choose my own way across, go where I thought best. On thinking things over I thought the raiders would be less likely to be able to maintain themselves up north than they would south. Therefore, I went north,

*Since the outbreak of the War Sir Bertram Hayes has been in command of some of the largest Ocean Merchantmen, and for the last three years has been in command of the *Olympic*, which safely transported two hundred and fifty thousand troops, many of them Canadians, and has sunk several submarines.

and I am glad to say we got home safely. When we arrived home, to my great surprise, they fitted us out with four six-inch guns, which—according to my way of thinking—was a mistake. We were about to take as many American passengers as could be crowded into the ship. You know they were crowded on the Continent at the outbreak of war, and they were travelling any way they could get, and we had some 2,500 of them on our trip to New York.

These guns were fitted, and I pointed out that I thought they were a menace to the ship. The protection to the ship was those 2,500 Americans on board, because I did not think at that time Germany would be so foolish as to destroy the lives of Americans and bring them into the war. However, I was over-ruled, and on sailing day the naval officer who was in charge of the fitting of the guns came to me, brought in by the marine superintendent, and he said, "Hello, pirate." And I told him that was what we were—pirates. We had no license to have guns, and then when we arrived in New York, which we did—or I would not be here—the Americans took exception to our having guns on board. The matter was transferred to Washington for decision as to whether we were a warship, and had to be interned or get out in twenty-four hours. It took them five days to decide that point. In the meantime we went on discharging our cargo, and loading, and when the loading was completed I went to the Customs House to clear the ship in the ordinary way. Word had not come down even then, but a telephone message was sent to Washington, and we received permission to sail, on the understanding that the two forward guns were to be taken off on arrival home, as merchant ships were only to be allowed to be fitted for defence, not offence, and they considered forward guns were for offence only. As a matter of fact the only defence for submarines is offence, because you probably have to turn your ship all the way round before using your after guns. However, when we got home all the guns were taken off, much to my relief. At that time there were no submarines about, only raiders.

Before we sailed from Liverpool if the passengers could have found any other ship to take I think they would have left us. The women, when they came on board, nearly went into hysterics, and when we drilled the crew the small boys caused a lot of excitement in telling everyone we were going to fire the guns—and all the women went into hysterics. It was the most uncomfortable passage I ever had. However, it ended peacefully.

I made probably eight voyages in the "Adriatic" without any guns. No submarine came on the scene, and we were told the best way to dodge them was to steer an erratic course, zig-zag, which meant altering your course every few minutes, so that the submarine could not tell in which direction exactly the ship was going. During these eight voyages we never saw any submarines, any real ones, but lots of imaginary ones.

On one occasion I was on the bridge, and we had a lot of passengers on board, and the poop deck, the after deck, was crowded with people. The after look-out man who was on the bridge on the after end of the ship reported a submarine. Well, I looked, and the officers looked. We could see no submarine. So we continued on our course zig-zagging. A few minutes later he reported the same submarine gaining on us and we could not see it. After two or three reports from the after end, I noticed that the wave cast—you know when the ship goes through the water it causes a wave, and in turning the course continually it, of course, turned the water over; and the way one wave was running into the other, just looked like a periscope going through the water. So we concluded that was what he saw, and had reported.

Passengers in the meantime were getting more or less panicky with this man telling them a submarine was gaining on us. Well, I thought a minute, and then I sent the third officer, the junior officer of the watch, to tell the passengers that any time they wanted to see that particular submarine if they would give me one minute's notice, I would show it to them. I told them to ring the telegraph when they wanted it. So somebody rang the telegraph and we put the helm over, and the same thing occurred again, the ripple came and they were satisfied it was not a submarine.

During the time I was in the "Adriatic," your Premier, (one of the best men in the world I think) crossed to England with me. This was in 1915. I think he went over to consult with our people, and the Australians. Everybody was gathered together over there consulting as to the best means of going on with the war, I suppose. The British Ambassador to the United States (who was then Sir Cecil Spring Rice) came down to see him off. Another gentleman from Washington came to see me in the shape of a secret service man, the head of the Secret Service at our Embassy. He came to tell me there was a very dangerous man on board, and that we had to keep a very strict watch on him as he was quite capable of

sacrificing his own life if he could sink the ship. He told me his name and all about him, so we took precautions. Of course I told Sir Robert about it. He had two secretaries with him, one Mr. Christie, and the other was known as John; and John was put to watch him and had to report at each meal to Sir Robert and myself, but he never discovered anything. Then Sir Robert kept playing with him to see if our information was correct, but nothing was found out. He had nothing in his room that would lead anyone to suppose he was doing anything wrong, so when we arrived in Liverpool, the Aliens Officer was informed. I dare say some of you have crossed, and have had experience with him,—he asks a lot of questions, impertinent most of them. We told him what we had been told, and he questioned this fellow as to his history, cross-questioned him and put him through his facings, but did not find out anything. He thought he was a reputable citizen and let him land. Some six months later, when I was in the "Olympic," the Purser, Mr. Palmer, brought me a copy of the Sunday Chronicle, a paper that specializes in divorce cases, and in this paper was the story of a divorce case, and this chap was the co-respondent. Scotland Yard awakened to the fact that they wanted this man, and declared they had been chasing him for two years trying to find him. We had handed him over six months before.

Sir Robert made his return trip with me, and was kind enough to send me a very fine photograph of himself, which I feel it an honor to have hanging up in my room. I had a lot of talk with him, he is an unassuming man, no side on him; a straightforward honest man, I would call him; a man to whom I would be perfectly content to leave the destinies not only of Canada, but of the whole Empire too. On September 20th we arrived in the "Adriatic" in Liverpool, and I was told that the "Olympic" was being fitted out as a transport and that I had to take command of her, as the man who had been on her had been appointed to take charge of the dummy fleet, which was composed of a lot of more or less old ships that were converted into dummy men of war, exact replicas of the ships they represented, wooden guns and everything.

You could not tell them from the real thing. I don't really know what the idea was; nobody does, I think. They were loaded with cement to take them well down in the water. Men of war did not have as much freeboard as merchant ships. He thought the idea was that they were probably to rush up to the Kiel Canal, and sink themselves there. But it

never came to that. I think the real reason was to relieve the men-of-war when they came in for supplies and coal, and to show you how like the real thing they were. One of our ships, the "Cedric," an armed Cruiser, was patrolling in the North Sea, and they saw what they thought was the "Iron Duke," and made preparations to receive the Commander-in-Chief, which would mean upsetting the whole ship. It was not until they got within a mile of her that even they, trained as they were, detected that she was not the "Iron Duke," but a dummy. That shows you how thoroughly it was done.

When I went on board the "Olympic" I was lost. I was five years in the "Adriatic," and I knew every hole and corner in her, and the "Olympic" was so huge to me that I felt kind of helpless, and could not find anybody. If you wanted the Chief Engineer you never knew where to go. There was a telephone which sometimes worked and sometimes did not. In three days we sailed for Mudros with Southern Counties Yeomanry, all going to Gallipoli. They were the finest men I ever had on board ship: men who were the pick of the country and in the old days had saved our country many times; farmers—who owned their own horses, and they had only had two weeks' training in infantry. They were officered by, I suppose, probably the leading men in England—country gentlemen and estate owners, and those kind of men.

I asked the Smoking-room Steward on one occasion how he was getting on in the smoking-room. There were no dry ships in those days. He said 'Well, Sir, if they can only fight as well as they can drink, the war is finished.' They were fine fellows, all of them.

In those days when we had troops on board we got an escort in the Channel, which is supposed to be a dangerous place—one destroyer. We got safely through the Straits of Gibraltar. That is supposed to be a dangerous neighborhood, which we were supposed to pass in the dark hours of the night, and of course we were going without lights or any glimmer of light showing, so that it was pretty jumpy work, but we nearly got through the Straits without being seen, when we saw some ship coming the other way, and it appeared to us that there was danger of a collision, and in that case it is permitted for you to turn your lights on to see which way to go. The patrol boat caught sight of our lights and we were ordered into Gibraltar and were kept there several minutes while we told our business and asked which road to go, or asked whether we were on the right road, which we were. We got safely along,

and as we were approaching the Ægean Islands we saw two boats in the water flying the French flag, and of course the first instinct is always to pick people up out of the water, so I eased the ship down and threw ropes to these boats, and we picked the men up (29 men). It was the crew of the French steamer "Provincia" which had been torpedoed that morning by an Austrian submarine, and I firmly believe that picking these men up was the means of saving the "Olympic."

We had come all through what we thought were the most dangerous parts of the Mediterranean, and perhaps our ideas on board were that there were no submarines and that kind of thing. A good look-out was kept, and a little later we saw the periscope of a submarine, the first one we had ever seen. In those days we were armed with one old 12 pounder forward and a derelict 4.7 aft. We had four naval gunners, two to each gun. One was a regular character, Old Puddifoot.

My idea was to get the gun off so that the submarine would know we had guns, because very few ships had them in those days, and Old Puddifoot would not fire the gun until he saw the thing that he was to fire at. That was his idea. Well, I told him the general direction, and finally we got it off. He made a bad shot, but the after gun was blazing away, and as a shell hit the water we saw him break surface and several competent observers declared we had put a shot into the submarine. Well, we thought we had done very well, that that was his method of sinking. We thought he had gone down. Later when we arrived at Mudros some of our submarine officers came on board to see the ship, and I was telling the story. "Oh no, my friend," said one of the naval officers, "that was not when he went down, that was when he fired his torpedo at you." The displacement of the water in the torpedo tube, and the weight of the torpedo causes the submarine to break surface if she is not very carefully handled. We thought we had put a shot into him, and we claimed that we had sunk a submarine, but they were not quite so optimistic. In Mudros they did not know whether we had or not, and they came to make enquiries, and I think decided we did not. To satisfy the Admiralty, you had to take part of the submarine or something with you, and there is no time to look for that with 6,000 fine men on board.

They were a little surprised at Mudros at our arriving safely. There was no escort in the Mediterranean. However, they asked what we wanted, and I told them all we wanted was about 800 tons of coal. Well, they were very careful of coal

in those days, and they said "You won't get it." I said "Well, I am sorry, but we can't get to our port in Italy without it." So after a little argument we got it. My orders were given me to sail for England, calling at Spezia in Italy for coal. We arrived off Spezia at daylight, one morning, just as day was breaking, could not see any pilot boats or anything, so I decided that I would poke in as far as the breakwater and by that time the pilot might wake up. We poked along a few yards going slowly, we were supposed to be in safe waters, when all of a sudden a gun started to go off creating great excitement. A little destroyer was seen turning circles signaling to follow him. Well, the "Olympic" was bigger than he was so we could not follow him so we stopped the ship and when he got his breath he shouted "Mines." We had no notice of any mine field so we backed her out the way we came in, and he came on board to pilot us through the mine fields into port.

The Italians are a leisurely nation. I think everybody knows that, and we wanted some 4,000 tons of coal. The work of coaling was not being done as fast as I thought it ought to have been done, as it would have been done at Halifax or New York, or at Southampton, so I went ashore to see if I could not hurry it up. The "Dublin," one of our men-of-war was there. She had been torpedoed, and was being repaired, and my duty was to tell the British Naval officer my troubles. I asked him if he could hurry up the coaling of the ship, as we were wasting time. And he very kindly sent his commander with me to the Italian authorities to interview the official in charge of the Dockyard. He was a very nice gentleman, with a red beard. He looked like a German more than an Italian. I talked to him and told him what my trouble was, but he did not seem to be very much worried about it. He said, "Well, we are fitted to put in 3,000"—(we were getting about 80 to 200 tons some days). "We are fitted to put 3,000 tons of coal in the ship per day. You are not fitted to receive it. You didn't build her, neither did I; there is another day to-morrow."

However, we got a little more speed out of them, finished coaling, and sailed for England. We were to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar at night time, but we had bad weather on the way and we were delayed a little bit and I was an hour or two later than I had hoped to be. Day was breaking as we made the Straits of Gibraltar. A patrol boat ordered us into Gibraltar, and an examining officer came on board and asked

the particulars about the ship, and so on, and asked where we were going, and I told him I didn't know beyond England. He said "I will go on shore and get orders." I asked him whether it was worth while anchoring. He said no, he would be back in twenty minutes. This was about 6.30 a.m., and we kept dodging up and down slowly, and about eleven o'clock this chap came off again and said "You are to proceed in accordance with orders." So I told him that I had not got any orders beyond England. I would go to Liverpool, but if they wanted to stop me they could send wireless instructions on the way. I suppose things were really confused then in Gibraltar.

So I went to Liverpool and got into the river and nobody knew anything about us. There was no more surprised man in the world than the Principal Transport Officer when I turned up in his office. He was a crochety kind of gentleman. He did not like being surprised, I think. And I could see he was racking his brains to find some way of putting the blame on me. All he could think of was "Have you brought your bedding return?" This was a return about how much washing and so on there was to be done for the ship. I said "No, sir." He said "Well you ought to have it."

We saw very few submarines in the Mediterranean; two we had a crack at that I know of. I don't think we got the second, but I think we did the first. We kept a very close wireless watch on the "Olympic." We had three operators and it was surprising how we always seemed to hear of submarines ahead of us attacking other ships and so on, so that we would get out of the way of them, and in that way escaped many dangers, I have no doubt.

On one occasion, the last voyage I think it was, we were just through the Ægean Islands in about the same position almost where the other one attacked us, when we saw a steamer displaying the flag which denoted that a submarine was in sight. So we looked through our glass, and we saw a submarine on the surface alongside another ship and the crew of that ship were getting into boats and leaving her, so of course we cleared out. In about twenty minutes we met one of our destroyers. But first we saw the submarine leave that ship and chase the first one we had seen going away from it. The submarine wanted two ships; it was not satisfied with one. We saw the destroyer about twenty minutes after, and gave him the details and he got back on the scene in time to prevent the submarine getting either. Both got away, I believe.

They wouldn't stay on the surface with destroyers about. We made four voyages through the Mediterranean and carried some 25,000 troops.

On later visits when we got there, our reception was not quite the same. I used to go to the flag captain to report. I went to the Principal Transport Officer first to report, but when I mentioned coal, he said,—“Oh, you can see the flag captain about that,” so I would go over to the flag ship “Europa,” she was then, and I was met with, “That damned thing in here again? I thought they would have got you this time, however, I suppose you want coal?” I said, “Yes, sir, 800 tons.” He said, “Well you won't get it.” And then we would have the same argument but eventually we would get it.

On one occasion, when visiting the flag ship, the Captain of one of our cruisers, said to me—“You had better look out for yourself. I boarded a Greek schooner this morning, and he told me a submarine had hailed him and asked if he had seen a large four funnelled steamer going through the Straits. This was after daylight and the Greek fellow told him no. We had got up a little earlier than the submarine and we had got through in the dark. So that one missed us.

On the last voyage to the Mediterranean, the Peninsula had been evacuated, and some of the men I had taken out on the first voyage, some of the officers, were waiting for transportation to Egypt. They came on board ship and asked if they might be allowed to have a dinner. So I said, “Why not come and live on board while we are coaling?” It was better than living in a tent. So six or eight of them did. There was one colonel of the West Kents, and about eight or ten or twelve of them that accepted my invitation; they were just like school boys, taking about ten baths a day and having a good time in the smoking room. One morning I was up on the bridge with the colonel of the West Kents. He was evidently thinking of home and home folks, when suddenly we heard two shots go off. He said abstractedly, “Is that fellow shooting part-ridges?” He was probably thinking of what he was missing at home. I happened to be looking in the water and I said “I don't know what he is firing at but there is where he hit.” We didn't know where the shots were coming from. I went into my room for a few minutes, and my servant came running in to tell me that an aeroplane had been dropping bombs on us. I went out on deck, but the aeroplane had gone away home by that time. He had dropped bombs at us from a height of 3,000 feet and missed us. When the colonel heard what it

was he said, "It would have been damned hard luck if I had been pipped on your bridge after putting in six months on the Peninsula."

Then we came home, and that completed our Mediterranean experiences, and we got back to Liverpool.

At that moment there was nothing for the ship to do and I took her to Belfast to be laid up indefinitely. That was about Christmas 1916, and after a short holiday they told me they wanted me to relieve some of the men in the other ships and I relieved the "Celtic."

We sailed from Liverpool, and got about sixty-three miles away, off the Isle of Man, when we struck a mine, and for a moment or two there was a very anxious time waiting to see if it were a submarine or a mine that had done the damage. However, no further explosion took place, so we took it to be a mine. Luckily it hit us in the chain locker at the forward end of the ship and the collision bulk head held, and I returned to Liverpool. The effect of a mine is tremendous. It jumped me about four feet up in the air. I was on the bridge but the cable, as you know, is very heavy, three and a half inch cable, and that is what took the force of the blow. It had hit on the port side and knocked the plates away from the frames on the starboard side, and all this with the weight of the cable to counteract it. It made a hole 28 by 34 feet long in her bottom. When we got safely back into the river we let go our port anchor but no cable ran out. It had shattered the cable, but the starboard anchor was all right and later on when we went into dry dock there were nine ends of that cable hanging out of the hole. It shows the force of the explosion.

Then I made a round trip after that to New York. I had relieved the "Adriatic," and I made the round trip in her. When we got back into the channel we received orders to proceed to Milford Haven as Liverpool had been mined. We went there and stayed thirty hours and started again for Liverpool, but had to return to Milford for the same reason. When I got back to Milford Haven the second time I was told to rejoin the "Olympic" at Glasgow, to go to Halifax to bring Canadian troops. Before going to Glasgow, I was called before the Managers of the Line and told that Canadian troops were to be fed in a different way to British troops. We got more money for them and they were to be treated as passengers. Such a thing had never been done before. Six thousand men as passengers—it had never been done anywhere, I didn't realize what it meant until one Sunday the Chief Steward came

up to my room to consult with me about something. He said "How many eggs do you think we cooked this morning?" I said I didn't know, probably about 1,500, and he said "Thirteen thousand five hundred." So you will realize what feeding 6,000 people means. The same instructions were given to our other ships, that we were to do everything we could for the comfort of the Canadians and to exert ourselves in every possible way to make them happy and comfortable while on board, not only my ship but other ships of the White Star Line.

I think the White Star Line have shown other people the way to feed troops and how to look after troops. There have been very few complaints in any of our ships regarding the treatment of soldiers. They have led the way in that the same as they have in looking after the comfort of the travelling public generally. They were the first company to put first class passengers into the comfortable part of the ship, middle of the ship. They were the initiators of the Turkish Baths and all those kind of things, installing anything that could be devised for the comfort of the passengers.

When we went to Glasgow the ship was commissioned as one of His Majesty's ships under the White Ensign, and we had six inch guns then and regular gun's crews for them, naval ratings. Up to February 1918 we carried 25,000 British troops to Gallipoli, over 100,000 Canadians, 45,000 Americans, and 13,000 Chinamen, and when the ship was taken out of commission we had carried 251,000. We never lost a life, I am happy to say. And I only wish that we could have brought all back again. But it was not to be. Some men had to sacrifice their lives, others had to sacrifice their fortunes, and I think even the men who have been killed gave their lives gladly for the sake of beating the Germans.

You never saw a more cheerful set in your life, happy as they could be, the Canadians, going over to the rescue of civilization practically. And I felt very deeply the loss of so many of them. Now I had better skip some and tell you about the most exciting trip we ever had.

We sailed from Southampton on my birthday, as a matter of fact an hour before it commenced. There was no pilot boat outside, so that we couldn't land our pilot. We were bound for Halifax with Canadian soldiers, women and children, and next morning, my birthday, a submarine was reported on our starboard side by a destroyer, that was then on our bow, putting up the submarine flag. Most of us congregated to see

the destroyer drop the depth charges on the submarine, but luckily not all of us rushed to the one side. The second officer was on the other side and he reported a submarine on the port side. Well, we went hard apart away from it and if we had gone another minute, another half minute, she had two periscopes and we would have gone right across her line of fire and that might have been the end of us. However, we got away from it, and it turned out afterwards that the first report was a false one. It was one of those "baby" chasers with looking glass sides that nobody can see. It just looked like froth coming alone.

On the return trip we were being escorted by four American destroyers and got into the channel. When we were off the Lizard at four o'clock in the morning just as day was breaking, luckily for us there was a low clear line of light, (you have seen it I dare say when dawn is breaking and the rest of the sky all black) and the lookout man reported submarine on the starboard bow. We could see the submarine half a mile away and I happened to be standing in the place where the order had to be given from and ordered helm hard apart, and we got heading for the submarine. Up till then I do not think he realized we were there. But when we were headed for him I saw his propellor start to work and he went full speed ahead and tried to turn inside our circle. However, I went hard apart again and I am glad to say we biffed him. During the time the ship was laid up, my Commander, Capt. Thompson, had been transferred to the "Afric," and he had been torpedoed so I turned to him and said, "There's 40 of the brutes gone to hell anyway so you have got a little bit of your own back."

Well, they made a fuss over it in England. The Commander in Chief came on board to congratulate me, much to my momentary annoyance because I was asleep, and I got the D.S.O.

Well, now I think there is something that all Canada ought to know, and—if it is possible—ought to be recognized, that is the work done by the ladies of Halifax for the troops going away, and for the troops returning. If there is any possible way of recognizing it, it ought to be done. These ladies were out, not only on fine summer days and fine summer evenings, but on bitter cold nights, seeing to the wants of the women and children, seeing that the children got candies and the men periodicals and newspapers, and every comfort that could be

given when they arrived, and welcoming home the troops ; and we participated in that welcome.

In Halifax we were called the "Old Reliable." We were all very proud of that title. Everybody was glad to see us when we arrived, and we felt at home there. It has been with me an honor and a pleasure and a matter of satisfaction that will live with me for the rest of my life, the good relations that have existed between the ship and everybody that has ever come on board of her. Officers and men of the ship were glad of the privilege of transporting so many of your fine Canadian soldiers.

One day when the "Olympic" was at Southampton, and I was going for my sailing orders, a train was just pulling up and it was loaded with Canadian soldiers. One man stuck his head out of the window and called out, "What ship do we sail home in?" One of the men on the dock answered, the "Olympic," and a cheer went up all along the train because they were going back with us. That was the greatest compliment we ever had paid us, greater than a decoration. I have occupied all the time allowed. I could tell you some more stories but they would all be of the same character.

Thank you for your attention. I don't know what you think but I have done much better than I ever expected to do.

(October 14, 1919.)

German Occupation of Belgium

CARDINAL MERCIER

Mr. Chairman, Your Grace, and Gentlemen;—I have spent the whole day in touch with your beloved people of Toronto; with the Empire Club, with the University of Toronto, with the various women's organizations of the city, with the children in the Cathedral and now this night with this select society representing all that is distinguished in your city. I feel gratefully honored by the compliments you have paid to me and thankfully honored at the freedom of your magnificent city which has been given me. What a contrast between those long sorrowful years of the past when at each moment we were under the oppression of a foreign foe! I could not take a step in my own diocese without being required to exhibit a passport to go from one place to another in my own country. I felt during those four years the humiliation of being oppressed by a power which I knew to be unjust and cruel. We Belgians have behind us always the remembrance of the injustice of the invasion and the cruelties of the Germans in the first month of their occupying Belgium, and we have always the prospect of new calamities over our people on the day of to-morrow.

Well, before the experience I had never supposed that moral sufferings could be so acute; still, we had to support it for four years. After those four years, what a contrast between those years which no tongue could describe and the welcome you gave to us, your friendship, your good hearts, your sympathy, not only from yourselves, but from the whole population of your city and of all the places where I have been since I came out of my country. I thank God for the comfort you have given me.

Also, here in your midst I know I am in a country of liberty and of courage. You are at last on the way to being

*Cardinal Mercier's stand for the rights of his compatriots in Belgium against the oppression of the German Government is too well-known to need any comment.

a great and independent nation of Canada. You are giving the world a splendid example. I have said this before in your city, but, repeat it because the fact is striking above all others. From less than half a million inhabitants in your city you had sixty thousand volunteers, more than ten per cent. I think that even in countries where they had conscription they did not attain to that percentage. And here, all volunteers! And volunteers, not for your interest; you had no interest at all in the war, if I speak of physical, material, economic interests. You went into the war with that magnanimity only for the ideal of Christian civilization.

I would like to say this night something to you about the resistance of the Belgian nation to the oppression of the German occupying force. If any here had a doubt about the existence of the Supernatural Power I would beg to be allowed to state before you some facts of our experiences. A great number of our priests had been imprisoned either in Belgium or in Germany, of course without any crime, only because they proved themselves patriotic. They passed months or years in prison. At the end of the war a great many of them came home; and I remember one of them, he was a parish priest in Brussels. He went into my room, his cassock, his overcoat, were stained filthy; and he fell into my arms saying, "Your Eminence, I have been in touch with the Supernatural. I have felt in my soul a strength of which I had no knowledge before. I have suffered from cold, I have been humiliated by the guards of my prison, I have been deprived of all the consolation of a priest; but I have been happy. And if now I were asked whether I would have been spared by the Germans, I should answer No, I prefer to have been in prison, and I bless God for my sufferings as for one of the best days of my life."

My own private secretary was put in prison for two years; and at the end of the war, when he came back, he said he passed in his cell the most beautiful days of his life. All the priests who have been in prison say "If we have to go again we shall be ready to go through the same experiences." It is a very remarkable fact; all our priests were in the same condition of mind.

Still that spirit of resistance, of interior life reacting against oppression, was not confined to the priest. The imprisoned men and women were also helped in their sufferings. The whole nation resisted as one man. Before the

war, the question had been raised in Belgium whether the people, composed as our nation is from different races, Flemish and Walloon, who often were quarreling and disputing with each other,—whether such people would have one soul. Does it exist, one Belgian soul? The discussion was agitated in the papers and in pamphlets, but on the second of August, 1914, the question was practically solved; because at that moment all the citizens, Catholic and Non-Catholic, Liberals, Conservatives, Socialists, Militarists, anti-Militarists, who had quarreled so much before the war,—at that moment all stood up as one man to say to the foe asking free way through our Belgium, “No! You shall not pass!”

Then we felt that patriotism is not a conviction; it is not an idea of the speculative mind of man; it is a profound reality of the soul by which all the faculties of the soul, all the tendencies of the soul, are concentrated on one object and subordinated to one haven, the liberty of the country. At that moment we felt that patriotism is the source of unity, the source of energy, giving to the soul the spirit of self-sacrifice; and for the future of the world that spirit of self-sacrifice rising superior to temporal interests will be, I hope, one of the main factors of moral progress in humanity. That spirit of self-sacrifice was revealed by your own boys in the trenches; it was revealed by your valiant boys at Ypres, Lens, Amiens, and all the trenches where your boys were; they were there defending the same principle of a moral civilization.

During the occupation of Belgium our workmen gave a great example of patriotism and self-sacrifice. In 1916, the Germans ordered that all workmen who were idle had to be engaged for work in Germany. Many of our workmen, in fact, were idle; because the Germans had made them idle, had constrained them to be idle. They had robbed us of the machinery of our factories, prohibited to the municipalities public work for our workmen. They damned them to idleness so as to have the pretext to say, “Here they are, idle. Come home with us. You cannot work here. We shall send you into our country and give you work there.” I wrote that to Von Bissing, and he could never deny the fact. We had the proof that in many municipalities where they were disposed to give work to workmen on the roads or railroads they were prevented by the Germans from giving work to our workmen; so, forced to be idle they were constrained to go and work for them in Germany.

The Germans offered the poor workmen very attractive

conditions of work. They said, "If you will sign an engagement for working for six months or one year you will get high salaries. You will have free holidays from time to time to visit your families, and you will be treated as ourselves. If you refuse, you will have prison or hard labor in Germany against your will." Well, we had exactly 70,000 workmen who refused to sign this engagement. My beloved city of Malines had 1300 of these workmen who refused to sign and leave their wives and children exposed to the worst conditions of living. And the beautiful thing is that the wives themselves and the mothers, persuaded their husbands and sons to refuse to sign.

I have been witness to wonderful spectacles. They had taken the workmen as slaves, by force, and forced them to go in the train to be taken away as slaves in Germany. The women, wives and mothers, went to the station to say adieu to their men, their children or husbands. They were repelled from the station; they could not approach it. What did they do? They left the station and they ran to the embankment of the railroad on both sides, and when the train was going through they shouted to their men in Walloon, "Don't sign, don't sign."

I have given this afternoon at a meeting of the ladies an example of a young girl which I am sure will interest you and, I may say, move you. She was a young girl, 19 years old, nearly 20; and she was engaged before the war. She sent her fiancé to the battle, the first battle in Belgium, Liege,—the first place of resistance to the Germans. (And by the way, General Leman, who commanded, is a non-Catholic. I think, he is not even a believer. Still he has, as many of you have in your country, a very great respect for religion. I knew him before the war. I had intimate conversation with him and he said to me once, being in my room, "I have no faith, but I know, of course, as a minister of the Church you have faith. Before I go, give me your blessing." And that general, first man of our country, knelt to receive the blessing from a priest. That is a very loyal man. However, the fact seems to me very natural. It is common here but it is not so common in Europe.)

Well, now, this girl sent her fiancé to battle. In Liege, he was wounded. The young girl nursed her fiancé until he recovered and then engaged him to go through the line and to join with our army again. He did so. As he enquired

about her safety his girl said, "Do not be worried about me. I shall find a way to serve my country as you do." She engaged herself in Secret Service work for the nation—and most of these Secret Service organizations were composed of women. When, some months afterwards, the military authorities seized the group in which she was engaged, (it was seized in France in a department of the north of France) she escaped, and some days afterwards she reorganized a new group in which she was the chief agent. Still, after some months she was arrested and taken to undergo trial before the court martial. The German officer interrogated her and said, "If you will give the names of your comrades you will be free; we will put you at liberty. If you refuse, you are to be shot." And this girl said immediately, "Is it possible that an officer lowers himself to put to me such a question? I shall show you what honor is if you don't know. I shall show you how a Belgian girl can die for her King and her country."

Another example took place in Luxembourg, in September, 1914. For two months the Germans thought that by terrorizing our people we would be prepared for the future annexation to Germany. I can find no explanation for their cruelties but that by shooting innocent people, burning houses, churches, and hospitals, they had in view the terrorizing of the people to make it more easy to annex them. In coming to a certain village they arrested twenty-one hostages and forced them to go into a church where they had to pass the night. In that church was the curate of the parish. In the morning the curate asked the military authorities if he could be allowed to go around in the village to visit the young boys of his club. He was a director of a club of young boys. He went into the village from home to home and proposed to twenty young boys of from seventeen to eighteen years to offer with him their liberty and their lives to save the fathers and mothers of families who were threatened with death. Those twenty young boys accepted the proposition and the twenty-one went to the military authorities and offered themselves to save the chiefs of the families of the village. The military authorities could not understand the moral grandeur of that offer, and they refused. Seven of those fathers were killed; the others were saved.

A proposition of the same kind happened in my city of Malines at the moment of the deportation of which I have spoken. The priests of my city, nineteen priests, said to me,

"It is unjust. We are democratic people; we feel it is unjust that the German oppression falls only upon the workmen. We would like to offer ourselves to take the place of nineteen of the workmen." I said, "Beautiful! I accept your proposition. I will write to the Governor, Von Bissing, and ask that he make place for you." I sent a letter from the nineteen priests with my request that the proposition would be accepted by the authorities. It was refused, but the act in itself deserves to be recorded and kept in the history of our country.

One or two examples more and I will not abuse your patience longer. I quote you a fact concerning a priest seventy-three years of age. Some weeks before I left for the United States I received a visit from a brave workman, a man of about thirty to thirty-three years old, married, having two or three little children; and he said, "Your Eminence, I bring you a little sum of money, (about \$20) which I have saved and I beg you to employ that sum for a funeral of a parish priest of my village." I said, "My dear man, why, what is the reason of it?" He said, "Well, I will tell you. I am here, living. When the Germans entered Louvain, after having burned our University, after having burned our Commercial School, having robbed us of all our scientific instruments in our laboratories, they took hostages and forced all the hostages to come together at a place near the station. The hostages were there, drawn up in two ranks, and it was decided that one man in seven would be shot." (In other places they had shot each fourth, each fifth.)

The seventh man was this man who came to me. Behind him was this old parish priest, seventy-three years old, and this priest had said, putting his hand on the shoulder of the young man, "I am an old man; I am nearly at the end of my life; I have done my service and I have retired. I am through, take my place and I will take yours." The young man said, "No father; I cannot accept. You are exceedingly good, but I cannot accept." The priest insisted; and finally took the place of the young man, who went behind to the rear rank. The priest was killed and the man was saved. Remember the words of our Lord, "Nothing is greater than for a man to offer his life for another." Nothing is more conforming with the ideas of a priest than giving his life for the salvation of his flock, and this poor workman thankfully had saved a hundred francs to commemorate the heroism of his priest.

I finish with the last example. We had in Antwerp seven men, six laymen and a priest, condemned to death for having organized secret service information for our allies. I knew one of them, it was a layman, his name was Von Bergen. He had been a diplomat in China and had offered his services to England. He had come into Belgium secretly. He came to me and I said, "My dear, have you reflected on what you are doing? If the war lasts some time more I fear for your life." "Oh," he said, "I know; I have offered my life either in the army or in the service of the government. I give service here in occupied Belgium; I have decided and I accept the consequences of my decision." So they were put in prison, sentenced to death.

The day before the execution the German authorities had given to the prisoners the opportunity of uniting with their families, and there in the prison they had their supper. The soldier who served every guest at the table said he never supposed that men facing death could be so unconcerned, so cheerful. When the supper was over they were forced to go back into their cells. The parish priest, a Flemish priest, had in his cell with him a brother of the Christian schools, and one of our seminarians. They spent the night partly in prayers, partly in singing songs; and during the whole night had affectionate friendly conversations together. In the morning, at six o'clock, the priest was allowed to say his Mass. He said Mass, his last Mass, gave the Communion to his companions in captivity; and then they went to the place of execution. The soldiers came with bandages to bandage their eyes. They went first to the priest, who refused and said, "I do not fear to look death in the face." Then the others refused, too. Then the priest took out of his pocket a crucifix, lifted up his crucifix and said to his companions, "My dear companions, be courageous; this same moment we shall meet together in heaven. Courage! Vive la Belgique!" At that moment a bullet struck him in the heart; he fell, and his companions fell beside him. I may ask you if in all history you know more magnificent examples of charity and heroism?

(October 27, 1919.)

The Common Cause

BY MR. LOUIS TRACY, O.B.E.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—my friends and fellow countrymen:—I must confess that before coming here I was tempted greatly to do that which I have never done before; namely, write my speech. I knew I was coming before a distinguished audience. There is an old phrase, "show me your company and I will tell you what you are." I only had to look back through the list of statesmen, scientists, leading men who have addressed this club to realize I was following in distinguished footsteps. But I resisted the temptation. It would have been a pleasant thing for an author to have thrust some trick of his literary phrase in the published transactions of your society. I might have turned out, perhaps, an epigram or two. Had I done that, there would have been something artificial and something insincere about my remarks. I prefer rather to come among you as one of yourselves, as a man who has passed through the inferno as you have done, who is perhaps chastened in his views, chastened in his own self esteem, and to talk to you from the heart as I would talk from my own fireside, rather than depend upon the written word.

And before reaching the main part of my program to-day I wish to indulge in a few remarks, a few little reminiscences. It is slightly over twenty-three years ago, in the summer of that year, that my wife and I crossed the beautiful lake from Lewiston and first set foot in Toronto. So, I suppose, in that sense I am an older Torontonion than a good many men here. I saw your city under its past conditions. We arrived on a summer's evening, as I told you, and as we entered the harbor, beside the pier we saw a steamer crowded with school children who had been out on a picnic, and as a finale they sang, "God Save the King." I tell you, it brought tears to

*Mr. Louis Tracy is the well-known novelist whose works have been very popular in England and America. He has been acting in the United States for the British War Commission, and is temporarily attached to the British Foreign Office.

our eyes. We had been upon a long tour to the United States, met with consideration and friendliness, but to be met in this great country by the joyous singing of the National Anthem, we felt sure we were at home 3,000 miles from home.

And, coming here to-day, I have been struck by another fact; and that is, your singular modesty as a community. That may surprise you. Twenty-three years ago you had a city of over 100,000 inhabitants. To-day, I understand, you exceed half a million. Now, I know the world as it is pretty well, and I cannot recall any city which had over 100,000 inhabitants twenty-three years ago which has to-day quintupled its population as Toronto has done. Many other towns have grown where towns there were none, but there has been no such progress as that, in any settled community that I know of. If your record has been exceeded, it can only be in rare instances. Why don't you tell the world more about it? Had you been an American city it would have been published in *choctaw*.

I see, too, on all sides signs of great progress, great industrial activity. I saw new cities springing up as I came here on the train from Niagara Falls; and it seems to me that the old mistaken notion of Canada is passing from the minds of the English-speaking people. I am sure that in the insular environment of England, the parochial environment of our country, the prominent impression of Canada for half a century was a wrong one. Our people pictured you always as a country covered with ice and snow. Your climate was supposed to be unsustainable. I am sure that was a factor in determining the flow of immigration. I am sure, that if Canada had been known fifty years ago as it is known to-day, your far west would not have had to wait so long for its recent great era of development. That has passed. Our people, and bear in mind our people now is the British army, our people have seen your splendid youth come across to France and other parts of the continent. They have fought side by side and they have seen your magnificent manhood respond freely and spontaneously. They know of your deeds and fine soldiers and they argue that it must be a fine land that produces such fine men. Have no fear, Canada will not be misunderstood in the future. In the United Kingdom you have written your lesson deep in our hearts.

Well, talking as I know I am, to many veterans of the great war, it would be absurd for me to attempt to review any

of the war's military phases. I am not going to do that. I am going to try to give you what seems to me to be the lesson that it has taught us as individuals and as a people. At the beginning, in 1914, our Empire was apparently more prosperous, more settled, more contented, than it had ever been. Our people were making money. Labor was quiet, a little disturbed it is true, but progressing to a higher level. The people were better off, better housed, better fed, better educated, and had more amusements than they ever had. The world was contented and settled.

And I am afraid that that contentment brought about a certain individualism. Personally, to use a phrase familiar to all of us after the war, I had "dug in" in a little town on the north coast of England, Whitby, and I had settled down from the roving life. I thought, for the rest of my days I would be content to turn out two or three books a year; and with a pleasant, not large, but comfortable income, I could see my boy started in life in University and afterwards in a career. In other words, I was fixed. Then the rude awakening of August, 1914, when Germany challenged the world; and for a time I, like others, resented the burden placed upon us. It seemed hard that my pleasant and enjoyable life should be broken up, that I should be torn up by the roots from the place I had secured. It seemed hard that my boy, instead of going to university, should have to give—as I then thought—at least a year of his life to military service.

But that phase soon passed, self was soon forgotten; all that was before us was to sacrifice ourselves to the common good. If I lost my fortune, which I have done; if I lost my boy, which I have done; if I lost my home and my family,— my poor wife will never again know that her boy is dead; if all those things have come upon me as an individual, what did it matter that for the few years I am living that I have to suffer? The great thing was that that which our nation was built upon, the principles which made us great, should be maintained.

And I have no fear for the future. I heard a man say the other day here that he was neither a pessimist nor an optimist. I rather disagree with him. I am distinctly an optimist. I believe in the future of the British Empire, in the future of the race. I believe in my soul that the nation that produced the million dead who lie on the Western front and elsewhere, the nation that produced the two and a half millions of maimed

and crippled men who are still with us can produce, if necessary, more millions for the same high purpose. I have no fear whatever. We have struck out in a new road, a finer and a grander road than ever, and we will continue to tread it for many a century.

"Self-sacrifice" was the motto of a man, who perhaps, is not given his due. I refer to the late Sir Cecil Spring Rice, British Ambassador at Washington. There was a man, student, scholar, most charming character, who conducted negotiations of great importance with very great skill; and who died only in harness. But because he was of a retiring disposition, because he never advertised, I am afraid that many millions of his countrymen do not know of his greatness who ought to know. That, then, is the text of my few words to-day, the necessity of self-sacrifice. It faces us now just as much as it faced us on August 4, 1914. We have got to sink ourselves in the common lot. That is what I had in my thought when I said I would speak about "The Common Cause." That, I think, is our future. We must endeavor to get away from narrow sectarianism, from narrow feelings of parties; we will always have parties, but over and above that must come the sense of duty to our mother land. The mother land is the whole race, the whole people;—a people made up of many, many races,—one great family working for the common cause. If we do that, I think we may survive the test of what the years have in store for us.

There are, it is true, sections of English-speaking peoples who are somewhat discontented. We have, of course, with us those pro-Germans who speak English. We have a majority perhaps of one great section of our Empire very much discontented,—I speak of the Irish people. and I think even they in time will come to us conscious that they made the mistake of their lives as a nation in not taking up the sword which was given on the Fourth of August, 1914. I think they regret it now. But you must remember that, although perhaps a majority of them are opposed to British rule for very, very mistaken reasons, there is still a magnificent minority that did much to retrieve the failure of the others.

I am, as you see, skipping from subject to subject rather rapidly because I am pressed for time. Well, closely allied to the question of national sacrifice comes that of social regeneration; and there we are faced at once with the great quarrel between capital and labor. Even there I am an optimist. I

do believe that in our people as a whole, right through the Empire, there is a sub-stratum of common sense that will extract them from present muddles. I am no prophet, I am not here to offer you a panacea for this vexed question; but I do believe that in most men's minds there is a sense of fair play, there is a sense of the truth of that statement that he who will not work, neither shall he eat,—but I do think that, if a man works, he should eat, and eat well; he should be well clothed, well housed; his children should be well educated. He should have a fair chance. The workingman and the capitalist should have almost similar goals to strive for. I think our people may be brought to see that that is a possible achievement.

All standards have their function, naturally. Take, for instance, the principal one, the vital one, the money market. Why, all of us here remember the time when, in England at least, we regarded a war budget of one hundred millions sterling as almost prohibitive. And then came the period when, with certain social upheavals and new ideas such as old age pensions and the rest, there came a period when our budget reached two hundred millions. Then the capitalists said our country was going to the dogs. The bank reserves, the gold reserve in the Bank of England, amounted to about fifty-three millions sterling. With fifty-three millions in the Bank of England we were solid, and how solid we were the status of the British pound spoke for itself.

What is the situation to-day? Great Britain alone has entered into indebtedness of eight thousand millions sterling—imagine it, eight thousand millions sterling. The United States has contributed about six thousand millions sterling, France about six thousand millions sterling; our defeated enemies have a staggering and enormous liability loaded on to them. In other words, and I speak not as a financial man but as a man with some degree of common sense, gold has gone down to microscopical quantities as compared with paper currency; and it is just as easy to print five pound notes as to print one pound notes; just as easy to print one hundred dollar bills as one dollar bills. The printing machines will turn out your money. What is behind them? Credit, trust in each other, and faith. There must, of course, be retrenchment. We cannot go on at the present basis. There must be a time when the great treasuries of the world will put their heads together and say, "is the gold held?"

Extravagance of preparedness for war on the present basis must be cut down. I think it will be cut down. I think the time will come very soon; and in that, I think, you will find the Genesis of the League of Nations. Never mind what you may call it, article one or article ten, that isn't the point. The point is that in the heart of every reasonable man and woman in the land there is a feeling that no such monstrous thing as the German attack on humanity must ever again be permitted; that we will bind ourselves together to stop it, to eradicate from the human mind even those thoughts that will make it possible. That is the true League of Nations; and that is, I think, now with us.

We have one great danger to face, and I wonder whether some of you quite realize its nature. In my youth, and there must be some of you who shared the same belief, Thomas Carlyle was a sort of God to us, an inspired prophet; and I am sure that to Carlyle I owed my ideas of the greatness, the thoroughness, the efficiency, of the German nation. I am quite sure of it. In one of his monumental books, *The French Revolution*, he gives us what I thought was the basis, the true actual cause, of the outbreak in France of the French revolution. But unfortunately, Carlyle, great as he was, did not know the facts. He did not go quite far enough, He did not estimate the secret poison, the effect of the secret poison, which even then had made itself felt in the world.

There was a man about one hundred and fifty years ago named Adam Weishaupt, a professor in a University. Perhaps you never heard of him, but he formed what he called the order of "Illuminati"; the wise, or the "illuminated" people; and he was the author of to-day's system of Bolshevism. He and the people of France did not know it, leaders of the Terrorists did not know it. He was a man with the original notion that in order to reconstruct society, you must first destroy society—destroy the whole social order and then begin from the bottom rungs to build up some fantastic notion of liberalism. Adam Weishaupt was really responsible for the French revolution. He very probably was a German Jew. We see to-day in Russia Bolshevism of the same tenets taught by Adam Weishaupt one hundred and fifty years ago, also brought about by a German Jew.

There is no question of what a great menace against humanity is this Bolshevism. There is perhaps a greater menace from Bolshevism than from monarchical Germany;

because, while the latter can be defeated in the open on the field of battle, the other one we must meet by argument, education, and tuition. And I am sorry to say that most of us, too taken up by our own personal concerns, do not devote the time necessary to going down into the marketplace and enlightening those whom we might meet and make wiser. That I regard as a very serious menace. It has taken root and flourished like a green bay tree in Russia, and it has already invaded other states. Sections of France seem to be ready for it. Unlimited efforts, backed by unlimited funds, have been put forth to bring about an upheaval in England and in the United States. I am not here as an alarmist. I am sure we can crush this monster. That it can be crushed cannot be questioned, looking over this Empire. This war has bonded us together in a way nothing else could do.

Well do I remember, in those first days of August, how we were thrilled to hear that Canada was coming, Australia was coming, South Africa was coming, India was coming; that all the British Empire had arisen together, cast aside differences, and banded together for the common cause. How it thrilled us. We knew your men were coming from the far west in this country. We knew there were men in the back parts of Australia who had marched 1,000 miles; and, as they marched, picked up new volunteers and picked up drill instructors and held drills in the little towns and villages as they passed through; and marched finally into headquarters almost a disciplined regiment of 1,000 strong to help the mother country, to protect her, to call themselves once more her sons.

Among the insidious methods adopted by the enemy, and he still is active, is to discredit the part borne by the British Isles in the struggle during the latter part of the war. They cannot, they dare not, say a word about what we did in 1914 and 1915; that is beyond them. But when the stage was set finally for the last great conflict, when Northern France rocked to and fro with battle; then they said that Britain was weakening, was beaten at heart, had her back to the wall; as some wretched fellow said the other day in New York, that she had her back to the enemy too. The man who said that never led American troops in the field. He was appealing to the basest instincts of the party to which he belongs, when he discredited the British efforts.

I took the opportunity of ascertaining from the war office just what proportion of British forces there were in the field in the critical period from March 1918, when the great German drive began, until July 1918, when we began the counter offensive which ended in victory on November 11. In March, 1918, the British alone,—exclusive of the Dominion of Canada, Australia, South Africa and India,—the British Isles alone had in France 1,620,000 men. In July, 1918, she had 1,602,000 men. In November, 1918, she had 1,573,000 men. Why did the figures shrink slightly? You know. The men have never left France; they are lying there still. So that, counting your own splendid troops of the Dominion, counting the Australians, the South Africans, the Indians, the British army never at that period had less than two millions in France. And during the whole of 1918 she bore the immensely larger part of the fighting.

And where were we not fighting? In Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, Salonika, with the Italians, Russians; I imagine the truth is that three million, rather than two million, men would be nearer the number of men we had in the field in 1918. And beyond those three millions of men, you know what you were doing here, keeping up the full strength, still recruiting, had new men still coming forward to fill the gaps. And so had we in Great Britain.

Well, I apologized at the beginning for not preparing a speech but it is not necessary, is it? I could talk for another hour about things interesting to all of us, but I must not do that.

But it was a wise thought on the part of our rulers, and they are more able men, in the Cabinet in England, than they are often given credit for;—it was a wise thought that sent the Prince of Wales to Canada at this moment. I cannot help thinking that that boy, that that personality, represents the future of the British Empire. In some sense this fine young prince stands for the future of the English speaking world. The meaning of his title, "Prince,"—it comes from the latin "Princeps"—is "leader." Well, he is a leader. He has been trained in the greatest school of manhood on leadership that the world has ever seen, the battle fields of France. It is a matter of common knowledge to every soldier that he shared their difficulties and dangers through the four and a half long years. He never spared himself. It isn't generally known, I believe, but

he undeniably went over the top six times. And I was told by one who knows him well, and this is something I would not like the press to notice, I was told by a man in whom I have great faith; that the Prince told his friends that he wished to go over the top (in disobedience of orders I am sorry to say) for this reason, that he wished to fall with the other men of his race who had fallen in Flanders. He wished to be killed. He thought that, by doing so, he would make everlasting the claims of the British monarchy to recognition by our people.

Those of you who have seen him, who have watched his fine democratic demeanor, who have listened to his well-chosen if halting words; you believe that boy, I am sure. He felt it in his heart; he is just the kind of a boy who would do it. I was glad to hear it. I am very glad indeed.

I have here a private document issued by the Department of State of the United States; and which, therefore, can be taken, shall I say, with greater acceptance of reality than it would have been had it been put forward as a document by the British Government. It is a translation of a circular in Spanish issued by the Germans in Spain, issued to warn Spain to remain neutral. I must read one or two paragraphs. It says that besides a large amount of war material captured on the battle field the Germans have taken possession of an incalculable booty in France and Belgium, "including 417 high grade watches, 5016 average watches, 18,000 sets of underwear, 15,000 sets of embroidered women's handkerchiefs, 3,700 umbrellas and parasols, 1,575 silver spoons, and 523,000 bottles of champagne. These figures show a large increase over those of the campaign against France in 1871. In Belgium, besides money, our troops have confiscated old paintings valued at three million pesos. Due to the treachery of Cardinal Mercier and other priests who had endeavored to stir the people against the good hearts of the Germans, we were forced to teach a severe lesson. We have destroyed four Cathedrals, rendered 8 unserviceable, destroyed 27 churches, and rendered unserviceable 34." That circular is certainly on the side of moderation as far as numbers are concerned. But have you ever heard such extraordinary claims by an army, not a word about rifles and cannon and prisoners and legitimate spoils of war, not a word of that. They are telling peaceful and neutral people what will happen to them if they dare offend the Germans.

And that is why, gentlemen, I think I have shown you that when I am asked to forget and forgive the German I refuse to do either. As long as I live, I will never forget what he did, nor forgive him for what he did. Up until a year ago I would gladly have killed him. I tried my best on many occasions, prepared for it anyhow. Now I am not going to forgive him. He is going to be kept under for many a long day; and, God helping me, with word and pen I will fight him as long as my mind continues to work.

That is the message which I think is in me. I believe it is in the hearts of other English-speaking men and women. I know it is in the hearts of the great majority of the people across that lake, the American people. The German is not to be forgotten or forgiven. In the words of your fine soldier,

"To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch—be yours to hold it high;
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep..."

I shall not break faith. I have a son lying dead in France and, by God, I will remember him as long as I live.

(November 4, 1919.)

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

Joint Meeting with the Empire Club of Canada, Massey Hall.

I was very much disappointed when I was last in Toronto not to have been able to accept your kind invitation to lunch, and so it is a special pleasure to meet so many members of both the Canadian Club and the Empire Club here to-day. I am delighted to be back in Toronto again where I spent such a wonderful three days and where I was given such a good time last August, though it is a relief that this is not an official visit. For this reason, I look upon this gathering as informal and ask you not to expect an oration, but merely a simple attempt on my part to describe my feelings at the end of my two-and-a-half months' tour of the Dominion.

Since I was last in Toronto I have been right across the continent to Vancouver Island and back again, which enables me to look better on Canada as a whole, and I think I can best express myself in military terms. The western provinces are like the outposts of the nation, held by most gallant and enterprising outpost troops, who are continually pushing forward into the No Man's Land of the great North-west. Ontario and the east is still the main body of the nation and the main line of resistance, and I congratulate you on the way in which your fine position is organized.

I was much impressed by all I saw in the west, and was attracted by the young and free spirit which I found there, and realized what a great future and development lies before it. Now for the last three weeks I have been back in the east, travelling in Southern and Western Ontario, and I have seen the country round the shores of your great lake, which was the scene of the fighting a century ago which saved British North America for the Empire, and was thrilled to think of the splendid fight which your ancestors of those days put up. I have also been much impressed by the orderly and settled look of the whole country, which bears a strong resemblance

to English countrysides, and is such a great contrast to the west. Knowing that Ontario was practically entirely virgin land only a century ago, I am full of admiration for what three or four enterprising and vigorous generations can achieve.

But this last three weeks enables me to realize that the notion that the east of Canada is mainly industrial as compared with the west, which is agricultural, is wrong. I now know that the agricultural produce of Ontario is the largest in the whole Dominion, and that your agricultural activity is as important as your industrial activity. This impresses me because it makes me feel that Ontario comprises all the problems of the Dominion, and must, by the way in which it deals with its own problems, exercise, in some respects, a decisive influence upon the whole destinies of Canada.

I am particularly interested in the agricultural side of Ontario, because I have become a farmer in a small way myself and have bought a ranch in Southern Alberta where I hope to start in very soon and ultimately make good. As you know, farmers in the west think themselves a very important community; and I see that the farmers have recently been asserting themselves in Ontario too; but let me assure you that I intend to be a very simple sort of farmer who will not go in for politics or try to upset your ideas in any way. As a brother farmer, however, I should like to pay a tribute to the farmers of Ontario, who have always been a very wholesome, energetic and respected section of the community. I know they, no less than the rest of the community, will always remember to think of the wider interests of the nation as well as of their own, as it takes all kinds of interests to make a great nation, and Canada cannot afford to be one-sided. I hope, therefore, that Ontario will set a lead by showing how all may pursue their own legitimate interests without forgetting the welfare of the Dominion and of the Empire as a whole.

The welfare of the whole Empire is, after all, the big question for all of us, and it has taken a new shape since the war. Because of their whole-hearted participation in the great struggle, the Dominions have entered the partnership of nations by becoming signatories of the peace treaties and members of the Assembly in the League of Nations. The old idea of an Empire handed down from the traditions of Greece and Rome was that of a mother country surrounded by daughter states which owed allegiance to that mother country. But the British Empire has long left that obsolete

idea behind, and appears before us in a very different and far grander form. It appears before us as a single State composed of many nations of different origins and different languages, which give their allegiance, not to the mother country, but to the great common system of life and government.

The Dominions are therefore no longer colonies; they are sister nations of the British nation. They played a part in the war fully proportionate to their size, and their international importance will steadily increase. Yet they all desire to remain with the Empire, whose unity is shewn by common allegiance to the King. That is the reason why, if I may be personal for a moment, I do not regard myself as belonging primarily to Great Britain and only in a lesser way to Canada and the other Dominions. On the contrary, I regard myself as belonging to Great Britain and to Canada in exactly the same way. This also means that when I go down to the United States next week I shall regard myself as going there not only as an Englishman and as a Britisher, but also as a Canadian, and as a representative of the whole Empire.

But, of course, this change of system within the Empire puts a new and very difficult kind of responsibility upon all of us. The war has shown that our free British nations can combine without loss of freedom, as a single unit in vigorous defence of their common interests and ideals. The unity of the Empire in the war was the feature least expected by our enemies, and most effective in saving the liberties of the world. But now that the war is over, we have still got to keep up that standard of patriotism and unity of which we showed ourselves capable during that long struggle—we have got to keep it up all we know. Unity and co-operation are just as necessary now in peace time as during the war. We must not lose touch with each other or we shall lose all that we have won during the last five years by our common action and effort against the enemy.

I have only one more thing to say, gentlemen, and I ask you to again forgive me talking about myself. I need not tell you how deeply I have been touched by the wonderful welcomes which have been given me in every city, town, and hamlet, which I have visited in the great Dominion. These welcomes have been quite overwhelming, and I can never be sufficiently grateful to Canadians for the warmth with which they have received me, nor can I ever forget it. It is only repetition when I say that I hope to be often in Canada again

and in Toronto, where I have had such a wonderful time, and I will try never to forget the great kindness which you have shown me this year. As you know, my right hand has been out of action for nearly two months. When asked why I shake hands with my left hand, I always reply that my right hand was "done in" in Toronto. Though painful at the time, I shall always look back on that as a great compliment.

But, gentlemen, I am not conceited enough to accept these welcomes as personal to myself, and realize that they have been given to me as the King's son coming to Canada as the heir to his Throne. My first visit to the great Dominion has made me realize more fully than ever what a great privilege and what a great responsibility that confers upon me, and I value these welcomes all the more highly because they have come from the Canadian nation as a whole, from all sections of the community, whatever their race, whatever their party, whatever their education. I ask myself, what does that mean? It means, I think, that the Throne stands for a heritage of common aims and ideals shared equally by all sections, all parties and all nations within the British Commonwealth. No government represents or stands for all parties or all nations within the Empire. But, despite this, there is a common sentiment which is shared, not only by all nations within the Empire, but also by all political parties within each nation. We all know this, because it was this common sentiment which made Britishers stand together in the great war, and I realize that this same sentiment has been expressed in the wonderful welcomes given to me in Canada as heir to the Throne.

I am afraid, gentlemen, that I have departed from my reserve and talked about myself a good deal too much. But I wanted to tell you, as the largest audience I have been privileged to address in Canada, what I feel about my position and the responsibility which it entails. I can only assure you that I shall always endeavor to live up to that great responsibility and to be worthy of your trust

(November 12, 1919.)

His Excellency the Duke of Devonshire

Mr. Chairman, Your Honor and Gentlemen:—I was a little alarmed when the chairman began to go into my family history. I was rather afraid he was going to allude to a certain occasion on which one of my ancestors had a gamble between either having his head cut off or being made a Duke. I was going to say—fortunately for myself; and, I hope, not unfortunately for you,—the alternative of the Dukedom was successful.

Now, gentlemen, I think it was rather more than a year ago when I had the privilege of attending a meeting of The Canadian Club of Toronto; and I believe it was on that occasion when you were welcoming, and I had the privilege of attending the welcome, of that distinguished French General, General Pau, who has done so much for the French and for the Allies, and whose work and memory we are proud to recall. Since that time much has happened, and we are in the position to-day of celebrating the first day of the second year of peace.

A year ago yesterday we, throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, were welcoming with enthusiasm the return of peace and the cessation of hostilities. We are now in a position in which it is possible to throw our minds back and to take some account of the progress which has been made in the change from war conditions to those of peace.

I certainly do not wish to draw too rosy a picture, and I certainly do not wish to be too enthusiastic; but I frankly confess that, whether or not it is due to the general atmosphere of Canada and its citizens, unquestionably I take an optimistic view of the future. And I think that we are entitled to take an optimistic view. Many events have occurred and are occurring from day to day which mark the transition from war to peace. Perhaps one of the most notable, as far as Canada is concerned, has been the extraordinary triumph which has attended the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. That visit has made a very profound

impression throughout Canada. It has not been merely the visit of a keen, enthusiastic, delightful personality; but it has given Canada an opportunity, which she wisely made the very utmost of, of proving its attachment to the British throne and British institutions.

It is satisfactory indeed to know that while the ancient thrones and dynasties of Europe have crashed to the ground, while their policy is proving a complete and total failure, that to-day the British throne rests upon a stronger and securer basis than ever it did in its long history. The history of Canada shows, as its development has proved, its loyalty to the old country and its loyalty to what the old country stands for and all that it means. The visit of His Royal Highness, coming as it did at the very right moment, gave the whole country exactly the opportunity which was wanted of demonstrating in the fullest degree that loyalty and attachment to His Majesty.

And what is true of the British throne is equally true of all other British institutions. They have stood the test of the greatest war ever known in history. They have stood shocks which have proved, have constantly proved in our past history, that British institutions are capable of adjusting themselves, of adapting themselves to changed needs of the moment. We can, I think, all look forward with confidence to the certainty that it will in the future, as it always has in the past, be able to adapt itself to the changed needs and requirements of each successive generation.

I often ask myself what it is that we mean when we talk of British institutions and what Britain has done. I should like, if I may, in endeavoring to find an answer to that question, to read you one very short quotation from an admirable book which I have had the pleasure of reading lately, a book entitled, "English Leadership." In the quotation I shall have to use the word "England" and "English". If I had been sitting at the right hand of the writer I think it is quite possible I should have suggested that "Britain" be inserted instead. But I cannot take the liberty of altering what was written. The book was written by Mr. Larned, librarian of Buffalo; and, while not definitely completed at his death, it has since been edited and is practically in the form in which he wrote it.

The book has an introduction by a gentleman whom we all recognize and know to be a very good friend of ours, ex-Pres-

ident Taft. The very foreground of Mr. Taft's introduction, the very first words, are:—"Representative popular government and all civil liberty are the benefits which England has conferred upon the world." And the introduction is the key-note to the whole book. In looking for some definite meaning of what British institutions and Britain stand for, I felt I could not do better than take that quotation from Mr. Larned's writing,—

"Conspicuously before everything else the English have been leaders in the political civilization of the world. Every notable feature of difference between the modern and ancient organizations and institutions of government bears the stamp of English origin and English shaping in its present practical form. All civilized nations to-day have accepted, or are accepting, English solutions of the problems of government by the will and with the consent of the governed. Popular government by representation, deputized democracy on constitutional lines throughout; these are almost universal in the social order of the present day because Englishmen found the way to successful employment and showed it to the rest of mankind."

These words, gentlemen, were written not by an Englishman. They were written by an American, to be read by American readers, and discussed from an American point of view. I think they do give very considerable food for reflection and thought to us, who are carrying on and who have to carry on that great tradition. We see in these pages the origin and the growth of British freedom and British liberty,—which has now been built afresh,—and the action, the courage, and devotion of our ancestors in former days to carry it practically to all parts of the world.

We have seen during the past five years how the Empire realized its responsibilities and fought on behalf of liberty and liberty's institutions. It is for us to see in our turn that that great story is handed down to future generations with even greater success than ever it has been before.

We sometimes hear it stated that we may be standing at the parting of the ways. I refuse to believe that there is going to be any parting of the ways. We have got a long, distinguished history to which we can refer. We know that modern development, science, knowledge, education, will turn out still greater inventions for us and for those who are coming after us. But I believe the surest and the safest way

in which we can proceed is by adhering to those recognized powers which have been found to be so successful before, and which are quite capable of adapting themselves to new and better conditions, and are able to carry the spirit of the old with the requirements of the new. It is for us, every one of us, to see that we make the very best of our opportunities to-day.

We look around and see the civilized world in a state of considerable unrest, and many anxious problems to be faced. The surprising thing is not that there is unrest, but I believe the most surprising thing is that there is not a great deal more than what there is at the moment. It is only natural that when the best brains in the world, when all scientific knowledge, scientific appliances, have unfortunately been adapting themselves solely and entirely to the purposes of destruction, that there should be social, political and economic unrest. As I said just now, I think it is not surprising that we should see that condition of affairs. The surprising thing is that it is not one hundredfold worse than what it is at the present moment.

We know that after five years of wastage it is bound to take much anxiety, much thought, to reproduce normal conditions again. Many palliatives may be found, many suggestions may be made; but, speaking to an audience of this nature, I will venture to repeat what everyone knows and what it is almost useless for me to say. There are only two ways in which we are going to repair this damage that has been created by the wastage of war—by industry and economy.

Looking around in the broadest way, there is no part of the world which is capable of contributing more to the resettlement and readjustment and bringing back to normal conditions than what Canada can do. You have the proof of that going on at this very moment. It is only a few moments ago that I had the privilege of presenting to the mayor of the city the Honour Flag which the city has won for having obtained its objective in the great loan which is now being floated. It is only another proof of the ability of the country to make good the damage, and the confidence which its people have for the future. If, after five years of war, a country of something like eight millions of people is capable of raising within a fortnight something over five hundred millions of dollars, it speaks indeed well for the financial ability and the confidence of the country. That is only another proof of the part which Canada is taking and will be able to take in the future.

It is impossible for anyone to travel through this great country without realizing that Canada is, even now, only at the very beginning of her history. She has got immense areas to open up; she has most valuable resources of every kind. But, after all, all those resources are of no value unless there is a population which is proud of its citizenship, and which has the character and the ideals to make the very highest use which it can of those great resources. And it is when one looks around and reflects upon what Canada has done in the past, what she has done in the war, and what she is doing to-day—that is the reason why I as an individual at any rate am optimistic; and I believe we are all justified in being equally optimistic. But this work is not to be accomplished merely by making speeches. It means every one of us has to realize that he has his own part to play; and I am quite confident that with the sound growth of public opinion, with the work which is being done now by all classes and by all schools of thought in the community, that we can look forward to a Canada infinitely greater even than she has been in the past.

We often, I think, are inclined to be a little skeptical as to our own capacities. I believe, on a very celebrated occasion, Mr. Balfour made the statement in New York that sometimes Englishmen and people of the British Empire were inclined to unduly practice the virtues of self-depreciation, that sometimes perhaps we did not and do not realize what we are capable of accomplishing. Well, to a certain extent, as an onlooker—and I hope, during the three years that I have been here, an intelligent one, and certainly a very sympathetic and cordial one,—I think I have seen what you have done in the past and feel impressed with what I know you can do in the future.

We won this war by bringing all our energies together. We sank differences of opinion. We all worked heart and soul with one object and one intention only. We were successful. We were able to achieve the greatest victory ever known in history. Now, equally well, if we work together, if we all strive to attain that one object—and that is the increased happiness and prosperity of all sections and all classes of the community—we shall be able to achieve equally as great results in times of peace as we did in times of war. It is in our hands at the present moment. The more one reflects on the enormous possibilities of the great Dominion, the more confidence one feels in looking into the future.

No institution is capable of exercising a stronger influence

on that public opinion which is necessary than the great Canadian Clubs which extend right across the continent. And in venturing to address you to-day, I can only say that I wish you all every prosperity. You have great opportunities and I am quite sure you will be ready to take them. Great as Canada has been in the past, if we all work together with a single purpose in view we can look forward to a Canada still greater and yet more prosperous.

(November 17, 1919.)

Conditions in the United States

By F. A. VANDERLIP.*

Joint Meeting with the Empire Club of Canada.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I wish I could make you feel how profoundly grateful I am for such a courteous welcome. You have done me the honor several times of inviting me here. It has seemed to be impossible before for me to come; but if I had known the sincerity of the welcome I was to receive I think I would have come on the first invitation and not have waited until now.

The subject that I was asked to speak about was "Conditions in the United States." Perhaps I will not hold too closely to that subject. If you were to picture conditions in the United States as you see them, indeed, as a good many people in the United States see them, it would be, on the whole, a very cheerful picture. You would picture us as not having lost much by the war; perhaps as having gained a great deal. Our human loss was great, but in a sense it was trifling compared to the sacrifice that you made and the sacrifice that the Allies made. We came into the war late. We made a great effort. We did make certainly a great industrial contribution, and potentially our men made a great contribu-

*Mr. Vanderlip—financier, statesman, author—has been one of the outstanding figures in American finance for at least the last decade. His numerous books and pamphlets, mainly on economic and political subjects, have exercised a strong influence on American policy during recent years. After his education in the Universities of Illinois and Chicago, he entered journalism, and later became Financial Editor of the "*Chicago Tribune*." From this position he went to Washington as Assistant Treasurer to the Treasury. In 1901 he became connected with the National City Company of New York as one of its presidents, and his success in building up this Company into one of the strongest banking corporations in the United States is well known among financiers. During the War he was Chairman of the War Savings Committee in the United States, and the success of his work in that connection is fully recognized. Mr. Vanderlip's most recent contribution to literature is his book on present day conditions in Europe, which has aroused a great deal of discussion. There is probably no man in the United States better able to speak authoritatively on the problem of International Finance than he.

tion. But on the whole, our sacrifice, measured in human life, has been small. Perhaps you would picture that we had made great financial gains, because we have transformed our position in the world from a debtor nation to a huge creditor nation. You would picture, too, that we had made a transition from war industry to the work of peace time without any serious difficulty; you would see us to-day with full employment of labor—except where it is interrupted by frequent strikes—with the greatest wages ever paid anywhere in the world, I suppose, on the whole; with an increased standard of living that borders on the edge of extravagance, and in some cases gets away over that edge, as you who may be at all familiar with New York have certainly seen illustrated. Well, that is not a very sad picture as it looks on the face; but some things have happened in this year since the close of the war.

Suppose I should say that thirty-five per cent. of our shipping had been sunk since the war, you would think that was a startling statement, and that I was out of my head. In effect that is true. The efficiency of our shipping and all the shipping of the world is only sixty-five per cent. to-day. We might just as well have had thirty-five per cent. of it sunk, so far as the efficiency of the work of carrying sea-borne goods is concerned. Well, what is the matter? Labor. The dissatisfactions of labor have sunk the effectiveness of thirty-five per cent. of the merchant marine of the world, because it takes a month to turn a ship where it used to take a week; because of the delays at ports, the difficulties with labor in the great ports of the world, make shipping only sixty-five per cent. as effective as it was before the war.

What if I should say that forty per cent. of our factories had been destroyed—that we had suffered like Belgium and northern France? You would think that was a startling statement. In effect it is true. The output of our factories is governed by the efficiency of labor. The efficiency of labor, by and large, I think to-day is not over sixty per cent. in the United States; and that amounts to a practical destruction, for the time being, of forty per cent. of our factories.

But what if I should say that we, sharing in your great victory, being victors in this mighty war, now found laid upon us an indemnity—that we had to pay a tax equal to half our national wealth? Well, that would be a curious and a shocking statement, wouldn't it? But, viewed from the standpoint of the individual citizen, the man with fixed income, half of

his income has gone to the payment somewhere of an indemnity, let us say, because his income is only half as valuable as it was before the war. That dollar has been clipped and clipped and clipped through some cause until to-day it will purchase only half what it would purchase five years ago. What has made that thing? You have felt it; England, France, everybody feels it—this increase in the cost of things, which is another way for saying decrease in the value of money. I do not know your situation; I do know ours, and I think I can explain in a very few words what happened to our dollar.

First, just after the outbreak of the war we inaugurated a Federal Reserve system—a most admirable financial conception. Had we not had it our financial structures could hardly have withstood, without most severe disarrangement, the strain and the blows of war finance. Now, one of the things that the Federal Reserve system did was to put into a single reservoir the reserves of the country, which had heretofore been segregated in the vaults of 26,000 banks. That is an admirable thing, because making more economic use of those reserves we could run with smaller reserves; that is, on our reserve base we could build a higher structure of credit, higher by several billion dollars. All right, that is what we did. Then as the war progressed, we added to the base. There came a flood of gold because our goods were needed far in excess of what others could send us, and for a time the balance was paid in gold, and this gold base was increased by a billion dollars, and so the credit structure rose. Then we came into the war, and late though we were, we came with a rush when we came. We undertook an industrial effort that was only measured by our capacity. We floated bonds in excess of our investment capacity for the time being. Those bonds could only be taken by people going to the banks and borrowing against them; and there came a great inflation of credit. This structure rose and rose. When a man buys a bond and gives to the government buying power, but borrows to do that, and makes no very active effort to economize, to save, to pay off his loan, he has created really a fictitious buying power, although that power is in the hands of the government. That is what we did. We have to-day \$6,500,000,000 of bonds either owned by banks or up as collateral with banks. We have rediscounted at the Federal Bank a total of \$1,700,000,000 of war paper, and that has raised the structure of credit. And so it has grown and grown; it is inflated, with a corresponding decrease in the value of a dollar, until our dollar has been

clipped, first by the Federal Reserve, then by the gold imports, then by the credits granted to the government, until it is just half what it was. So I say it is not an impossible simile to compare us with a country that has had a great indemnity tax laid on it so far as men with fixed incomes are concerned.

To deal with the situation in the United States, however, one must look outside of the United States. We have come into world affairs in spite of ourselves, reluctantly, a little blindly, not knowing just what to do with our position, not understanding it very clearly. During those years of war we built up enormous exports—exports away beyond our imports—and our present state of industry is dependent upon those exports. Not so very many of us are looking beneath the surface there and seeing what the condition of the great exporting nations is. I made some study of that myself last spring, with results in my own mind that were saddening. I do not know how well you understand the conditions in Europe. Our people six months ago were utterly blind to them; and only now are they beginning to get some little conception of the seriousness of the blow that has been struck there.

The problems of peace, the problems that began to present themselves with the armistice, are more serious, perhaps more difficult of solution, too, than the problems of the war itself. There has come upon Europe a disorganization of trade that has led to a paralysis of industry in many countries. The seriousness of that is very great. We are apt to make in our minds comparison with other wars when we are thinking of what the recovery may be from this war. You will hear people quote conditions following the Napoleonic War, and citing the quick recovery of nations in spite of debts that were greater in proportion than even the vast debts of the present day, and they will argue from that that we should see as quick recovery now. But something has happened in the world since the Napoleonic Wars that makes a very different situation in Europe—the development of the great industrial era of our times. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars there were 175,000,000 people in Europe supported from the fields of Europe; to-day there are 440,000,000 millions in Europe, with 100,000,000 of them at least who must be supported by the imports of food. That is most particularly true in England; it is true in Germany.

Now, let us look at the German situation just a moment in that respect. The fields of Germany, under the intensive cultivation of pre-war days, the high state of fertilization, pro-

duced enough to feed Germany with the exception of about 15,000,000 people. Their fields fed 50,000,000, and there had to be imported food for 15,000,000. Now we have assessed a great indemnity against Germany, but we wonder whether we ought to trade with Germany. Let us see what position she is going to be left in if there is a permanent embargo around her. There are 15,000,000 people who cannot live. Now, the Germans are savages—I will admit that—but we don't surround savages with an embargo and let them starve to death!

But that is only illustrative of the situation in a number of European countries, and more notably in England than in Germany. The cycle of industry in England must go on at about its old-time rate; England must hold her supremacy in the neutral industrial markets of the world, or England starves. Now, that is all there is about it. In the first nine months of this year, English exports fell below her imports to the extent of more than \$2,000,000,000. You cannot keep that up. England's supremacy in the industrial markets must be maintained if England is to be maintained. Sir Auckland Geddes said to me, "Unless you can re-establish England's trade our government's problem is to export 5,000,000 Englishmen." We must re-establish English trade. We must re-establish German trade. That is not very acceptable to me, and I guess it is not to you; but can we starve them to death?

Look at the situation in Italy—and I want to tell you to-day that Italy is one of the danger-points of the world—without coal, short of food, unable to move her trains or run her industries, not daring to demobilize her army into idleness, want and riot—Italy is on the edge of a possible disaster, just as Germany is on the edge of a possible revolution, because they are short of food. They have not the raw material with which to work; they are discouraged; they have got this awful indemnity hanging over them; their death-rate has gone up; their birth-rate is half the normal; men are underfed; transportation is paralyzed; industries are idle. We look at the situation of a German manufacturer owing to the rise in prices and the decrease in the value of the mark. Let me cite one example. Before the war a bale of American cotton was worth 25,000 marks in Germany. Now two things have happened; the price of cotton has gone up and the value of the mark has gone down, and to-day we are selling cotton to Germany for 950,000 marks a bale. Now, if you were a German cotton spinner you would take a long breath over that situation—25,000 marks a bale before the war, 950,000 marks a bale to-day. Those are serious things to consider.

I believe that it is a great duty of those of us who have a surplus, to loan—I am not thinking in terms of money, either; I am thinking in terms of goods, of food, of raw material—it is a great duty that we loan to those people those things necessary to start their industries going, to give life again to the industrial cycle, work to men. Europe cannot exist on charity; it is death to civilization unless industry can be started, unless men can be given work; and in some countries like Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, there is lack of means to obtain the very start, and the raw material to get things going. They need some priming in the pump; you cannot start pumping until they get something to work on; and I think there is the greatest national duty, the greatest obligation, the greatest opportunity imposed upon the United States in this world-situation of affairs, to come forward now with great loans—not to those bankrupt treasuries, but to the industries of Europe—loans that shall take the form of raw materials and foods, of machinery, of rolling stock for the dilapidated transportation systems, and again enable the industrial life there to be resumed. I maintain that the situation in Europe to-day is quite serious. It has made no substantial progress when compared with the situation a year ago, just after the armistice. In that year we loaned Europe, through our government, \$3,000,000,000, and maintained this tremendous movement of exports that has made life tolerable. Now, through lack of understanding, through lack of leadership, through lack of organization, we have stopped; we are not even considering the problem as we should consider it in view of how desperate it is. We are going along in our prosperity—we got a little bump in our gold market the other day which interrupted it in the minds and pockets of some people—but on the whole we are absorbed there with our own affairs; we shrink from getting involved in world-affairs that we don't know much about and have had but little training in, and fail to understand, and find a lot of selfishness and jealousy and discord in. But unless we do, unless we see our duties and our opportunities in a clearer light, and act, there may be a great tragedy ahead in Europe. There is a great tragedy. It is going to be a tragic winter in many of those countries, a winter of great suffering, with a lack of fuel, a lack of food, a discouragement that will be profound, and which might lead to social and political revolution; and if it does, the microbes of that disease will cross the Atlantic; they will jump any tariff barrier, and they are sure to find lodgment with us. So, if we were absolutely

selfish, if we thought of nothing but our own position, we would do what you have been doing. You have been making some foreign credits; you have been having what seems to me to have been a marvellously successful loan here; and if I might presume, I would wonder just what you are going to do with the proceeds of that loan. You can be extravagant with it; you can be wasteful with it; you can be just generous with it, and hurt the world fearfully. You can grant credits that will really be used in buying products from you, and be a great servant of the world and get a great reward. You will need to guard this \$500,000,000 or \$600,000,000, I believe, as you never guarded a public trust before.

The labor situation is one thing that bothers us in the United States. As I have said, we are only getting sixty per cent. efficiency, and we are paying very high wages. I could illustrate something about this efficiency. I happen to be connected with large shipbuilding establishments, I could cite an illustration of the building of two ships exactly alike; one was built before the war; the other was recently completed. They were built on the same ways. They were exact duplicates. The first ship took 200,000 hours, and the second ship 400,000 hours of labor to build; and the cost per hour was nearly double on the second ship what it was on the first. We have repeated illustrations of advancing wages having an exact correspondence in decreasing labor. Advance the wages ten per cent., get ten per cent. less product; advance them another ten per cent., another ten per cent. decrease. I know illustrations where there was great pressure for a product, where two shifts were working and three shifts were put on, and we got less results with three shifts than we did with two. I have seen illustrations in ship-building, where, after making quite a sweep, discharging of men that worked on a vessel, we drove more rivets with the smaller force than we did before. Well, now, there is a great stake to play for, if in some way we could get satisfaction in the heart of labor so that labor will do its most efficient work.

I wonder who is to blame for this situation. I wonder if the employer who waited to make a raise of wages or to improve working conditions until he was forced to do it, who said, "Let well enough alone, we will make the raise when we have to,"—the employer who did not recognize industry, who put no premium on efficiency, but waited to be forced by union demands, and then did raise the wages,—I wonder if he has not some share of blame?

If you and I were working for wages, and we found that industry, efficiency, loyalty, counted nothing; that we were just in the mass; but if we found that unionism, demands, force, might, accomplished results,—in which direction would our minds turn? Would we naturally be efficient? I don't think so. I think it is a perfectly natural consequence to find that men rely on the thing that accomplishes the result, and if they have not been rewarded for efficient service, but have been rewarded for the application of power, they are going to forget efficiency and apply power; and that is what they are doing.

And then, this war has brought something new to labor. It has brought new aspirations—aspirations for greater manhood, for more voice in the affairs immediately surrounding labor—and I, for one, sympathize with that. I have been a workman; I have stood at a lathe all day and produced the same article over and over and over again; I know something of how trying this rapidity of work is, the same act over and over, all day long, and I don't wonder that men who have become mere cogs in any industry and are considered as commodities, want a better relation to life than that. And I tell you that in giving it to them we will get back for society and for ourselves, for the peace of society, such a reward as the optimist can hardly measure. It is just better basic, fundamental human relations, that is all. It is being brought about in some instances. It is being brought about somewhat in England by the Whitley Committees, by the closer organization where men sit down together, not in times of stress, in the heat of a strike, but every day or every week, employer and employee sitting down and discussing conditions; and there is education in that, and just as much education for employer as for employee. We are doing some of it in the United States, and there are some notably successful illustrations of how improved output and happier conditions in every way may be brought about by this better understanding, thus giving labor a larger voice and clearer comprehension of what the job is all about, and giving employers a more sympathetic understanding of labor's point of view.

Now, I do not believe that there is any formula that will apply to all conditions; in fact I am very positive there is not. In a small factory, with these shop committees, these periodical conferences, this better understanding and better education can be brought about, I am sure. In larger industries there will perhaps have to be some other plan. But it is up to us all to do more thinking on this subject than we have ever done

before; to do it with a warmer heart and a more open mind; and it is only on that road, I believe, that we will succeed in raising our ships that have been sunk, in rehabilitating our factories that have been destroyed by inefficiency of labor.

If there was some great economic doctor who had hold of the pulse of civilization and was asked to make a diagnosis, and to prescribe remedies for the great illness that civilization feels, that doctor would to-day find the pulse beat very irregularly, very sluggishly. He would take a temperature that indicated fever—fever that had driven the mind to an almost irrational state. If he could put a band around civilization's arm and measure the blood-pressure he would find it was dangerously high. If a drop of that blood could be put under a microscope there would be microbes there of Bolshevism, microbes that were disorganizing to the whole system of civilization. And then what would that doctor prescribe? Just as in medicine to-day we are coming to understand that drugs are not very curative, I believe such an economic doctor would conclude that there were no nostrums of some new order of society, of Bolshevism, or Socialism, to prescribe for civilization; that would not cure civilization. There might be some prescriptions of legislation, I think there would be. But the trouble is deeper than that, and the trouble is such that the prescription has to be taken by every one of us; and that prescription would amount to something that would almost make a fundamental change in our characters. We have got it in us; it is possible; we have fought the war; we have made the most supreme sacrifices; our young men offered their lives for what? Fair play in the world, that was really what we fought the war about—for fair play in the world.

Now, if that war spirit could only lapse over into the very troubled times of peace; if some great physician could prescribe this remedy—that we should all devote ourselves passionately, as we did in the war, to seeing fair play in the world—how these difficulties would disappear. There is no trouble between capital and labor that fair play would not settle. We would have a new world. The world has not been destroyed. It has been horribly injured; and it may be much more horribly injured—this one thing we must keep in our mind—but the road to recovery is right in our own hands; it is not somewhere far off; it is not in the hands of parliament, or of organizing some new social order. We don't want a better social system; we want better men. If we could each take to himself that lesson of fair play,

greater industry, greater loyalty to his job, greater efficiency, more economy, greater saving, cutting out extravagance—these are the simple remedies.

Why, in your way here you are complaining about the exchange situation, and that is a small matter with you compared to the terrible troubles that pertain to other countries. One of the questions I was asked this morning by one of the reporters who saw me was, "What can you do to correct the exchange situation?" I answered that it was very simple; it is right in your own hands. You have got a pair of balances here; one side filled with what you export, the other side with what you import. They are out of line. Now, don't find fault with the index pointer up here. They are out of line because you are exporting less than you are importing. What can you do to correct it? Why, it is very simple but very unacceptable, and quite world-old; you can work harder and produce more; and lighten up this side—be less extravagant, and import less. There isn't anything else you can do, or that the world with its European countries can do. For a while, for a few months, they can weight down this side with a credit providing they can get somebody to take the credit. That will bring the balance down somewhat; but that credit has got to be removed ultimately. A nation must produce and send out as much as it consumes and brings in, or it is going to be out of balance; as I said, England is more than \$2,000,000,000 out of balance in nine months. To refer again a little more to England's difficulties, her budget this year will be £473,000,000 short—\$2,500,000,000 less will come in from taxation than has to be expended. I just made a note or two this morning that struck me as interesting. In those expenditures are £50,000,000 for the bread subsidy—they had to do it; I don't object to that, but let us not shut our eyes to the seriousness of it; £42,500,000 were for out-of-work donations—when I was in England in the spring more than a million people were receiving an out-of-work donation; there will be £104,000,000 for war pensions; and in this fiscal year that began five months after the armistice, in what you might call a year of peace, there will be a deficit in that budget of £473,000,000; and by April first the debt will have reached £8,075,000,000. Why, the service of that debt runs away ahead of the whole cost of government administration prior to the war. I believe there is no other people on earth than those Englishmen, with their great common sense, their bull-dog tenacity, who could pull out of that hole. And I, for one, would like to see the United States

help them pull out of that hole, and if there is anything that my voice can do to waken our people to their responsibilities, their obligations and their great opportunities of world-leadership, that word shall be uttered. But we seem blind. It is easy to understand it; we have been a very insular people, a debtor nation; we have looked on foreign trade as meaning just one thing—sell something. We have got to remodel our definition of foreign trade, and buy and buy and buy from abroad. We are now a creditor nation; we must take goods. We have got to reorganize our ideas about the tariff. I am a Republican—black Republican—but the foundations of my belief in a tariff policy have been a good deal shaken lately. We have got a new order, a new situation there, and I think in time we are going to wake up to a comprehension of the seriousness of the European situation and of our own obligations and opportunities. Whether we will wake up in time, whether we can stop the march of this tragedy which is crossing Europe, I do not know; but I believe there never was a people that had laid on them a greater obligation than we have, and as you—because you are in much the same situation—to comprehend this European tragedy, to see what our duties are to civilization, to individually take this prescription of a great, economic doctor—take it to ourselves, not something for parliaments nor something for other organizations, but something for ourselves individually to do; and if we will do that, we can make over the world.

(November 24, 1919.)

Some American Financial Problems

BY GOVERNOR W. P. G. HARDING.*

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Canadian Club:—After hearing the announcement made by your president as to the speakers that you are to hear in the immediate future, and after having read the list of distinguished speakers who have preceded me, I cannot but feel that I am rather presumptuous in appearing before you to-day. But I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity of meeting the representative business men of an allied and neighboring country. We are bound together by the close ties of blood and business interests. Even before the United States entered the war, we appreciated and admired very greatly the splendid spirit shown by the Dominion of Canada in its contribution to the great contest for world freedom and civilization. Personally, a great many of us regretted that we did not take our place beside you much sooner than we did; but we hope that we came to your side in time to be of some effective help.

Our boys stood together in the trenches of France; and in the post-war problems which confront us now we feel that it is important that we should have personal contact and acquire knowledge of each other's problems, in order that we may devise as intelligently as possible the means of solving them.

I shall outline very briefly the salient points of our new banking system in the United States and then turn to some of the most vexing of the problems which now confront us, in order that we may ascertain to what extent our problems are your problems and better decide what joint action we can take in meeting them. In the first place, our banking system in the United States is radically different from your Canadian system. Up until 1913 it was realized, not only throughout the world but admitted in the United States, that we had

*Governor Harding has been in charge of the Federal Reserve Bank System in the United States since its inception, and has played a large part in the United States financial operations during the War.

perhaps the most defective banking and currency system of any civilized nation. We have always had a great admiration for your Canadian banking system. However, your system is not adapted to our American needs or American thought.

For more than eighty years there has been a strong prejudice in the United States against the branch bank system. Consequently, instead of having a limited number of strong banks whose branches radiate in every direction to supply the needs of local communities, as you have in Canada,—where I understand you have only fifteen or twenty banks,—we have in the United States a system of independent banking units. We have some large and powerful banks, and a great many of limited resources. We have, all told, about 28,000 separate and independent banks, many of them capitalized as low as \$15,000, and some as low as \$10,000. Doubtless, the idea of an independent bank having a capital as low as \$10,000 or \$15,000 may appear strange to Canadians.

Some of these banks are organized under Federal law,—about 7,800 of them. The remainder are organized under the laws of the various states; and we have forty-eight states, and the laws of no two states are exactly alike. Thus you can see that, with so large a number of units, such a thing as effective co-operation was impossible. Furthermore, each bank was required to keep its own reserves. A proportion of its legal reserve had to be kept in lawful money in its own vault.

Our old law provided for central reserve cities and reserve cities. National banks located in cities thus classified were required to carry reserves of twenty-five per cent against their net deposits. Banks in central reserve cities were obliged to keep the entire amount of the required reserve in lawful money in their own vaults, while banks in reserve cities were permitted to keep a reserve of twelve and one-half per cent in lawful money in their own vaults provided they carried at least twelve and one-half per cent additional with national banks in central reserve cities. Banks located in towns and cities which were not classified as reserve or central reserve cities were known as "country banks". They were required to carry reserves amounting to fifteen per cent of their net deposit liabilities, at least two-fifths of which had to be lawful money in their own vaults, and three-fifths of their required reserve could be kept with national banks in either reserve or central reserve cities.

The effect of that arrangement was that, whenever there was any unusual stringency in the money market or when there was an extraordinary seasonal demand for currency for use in moving crops or for other purposes, the country banks would withdraw balances from the city banks at the very time when those banks could use the country banks' balances to the best advantage; and, in addition, the country banks were accustomed to call on their city bank correspondents for credit accommodations based upon the average balance carried with the city banks.

There was no elasticity to our currency; it was inflexible and rigid, and could not be increased substantially in volume to meet seasonal needs or unexpected emergencies. The amount of United States notes, which were legal tender, was fixed by law at \$346,861,106. This amount could be neither increased nor diminished. Changes in the volume of gold or silver coinage were gradual; and, while the issue of gold and silver certificates was permitted, no increase in the volume of circulation resulted, for the gold certificates were required by law to be secured by an equivalent amount of gold coin or bullion, and the silver certificates by a like amount of silver dollars. National banks were permitted to issue circulating notes secured by Government bonds at their face value; and, prior to 1914, National bank notes, which aggregated about \$740,000,000, constituted the larger part of the currency in ordinary use. No national bank, however, was permitted to issue circulating notes in an amount exceeding its capital stock, and the volume of national bank notes in circulation depended, not so much upon the demand for currency, as upon the price of Government bonds upon which they were based.

It will be seen, therefore, that under our old system it was impracticable to augment the volume of currency to any appreciable extent, no matter how great the stress. Our system broke down on several occasions. We had notable panics in 1873, 1893 and 1907, although in none of these years was there a currency panic in Canada, due to your more elastic currency system.

On December 23, 1913, after several months deliberation by the Congress of the United States, there was enacted what is known as the "Federal Reserve Law". This law created a Federal Reserve Organization Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Comptroller of the Currency; and provided for the appoint-

ment of five members of the Federal Reserve Board, with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency as members ex-officio. Twelve Federal reserve districts were established by the organization committee; members of the Federal Reserve Board took the oath of office on August 10, 1914, and the twelve Federal reserve banks were opened for business on November 16th of the same year.

Each Federal reserve bank is an independent unit, governed by a Board of nine directors, six chosen by the member banks and three appointed by the Federal Reserve Board. All national banks are required to become stockholders in and to be members of the Federal reserve bank of the district in which they are located, and all state banks which have the required amount of capital and which can comply with other conditions prescribed by law are permitted to become stockholders in and members of a Federal reserve bank. All the National banks in the United States are members of the Federal reserve system, and about 1,100 state banks have been admitted, so the twelve Federal reserve banks have now between them about 9,000 member banks, or just about one-third of the total number of banks in the United States. These member banks, however, represent approximately eighty per cent of the banking power of the country.

The Federal reserve banks have no individual stockholders. Their stock is entirely owned by the member banks. The Federal reserve banks do not receive deposits except from member banks and the United States Treasury, nor do they discount for the general public. They are bankers' banks. The capital stock of the twelve Federal reserve banks amounts now to about eighty-four millions of dollars; and the surplus fund accumulated will amount, on January 1, to about one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. The law allows the Federal reserve banks to accumulate a surplus up to two hundred per cent of their paid-in capital, only one-half of the subscribed capital being paid in.

In another year the banks will probably have, in addition to their paid-in capital, a surplus of twice the amount—say \$170,000,000. Whenever the surplus of a Federal reserve bank amounts to twice its present paid-in capital, it may retain out of net earnings, after paying dividends, only ten per cent of its annual earnings as a further addition to surplus and must pay the remaining ninety per cent to the Government of the United States as a franchise tax. No interest is paid

on deposits, and the only return to stockholders is the cumulative dividend of six per cent per annum.

Earnings have been very heavy during the last two years, owing to the financial operations of the Government. Some of the banks have earned more than one hundred per cent of their capital stock in a single year. This, of course, is an abnormal condition, and is made possible by the heavy discount operations in connection with Government financing and the demand for Federal reserve notes as currency.

The Federal reserve banks have, as fiscal agents for the Treasury of the United States, received subscriptions for, and received payment for all the twenty-one billion dollars of bonds which the Treasury has issued; and they have also handled the short term obligations of the Treasury. The certificates of indebtedness now, I understand, amount to about three billions, four hundred millions of dollars, and are being reduced at the rate of about seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars a year.

The Federal reserve banks hold the gold reserves of the country. The law has been changed so that no bank—no national bank, and no state member bank—is required to keep any specified amount of cash in its own vault. That is a matter entirely for a bank's own determination. Nor does any cash in the vault of a bank, even gold, count as reserve for that bank. The only lawful reserve for a member bank is its balance with the Federal reserve bank. That, of course, has had the effect of concentrating gold in the vaults of the Federal reserve banks. The amount of gold so held by the banks and Federal Reserve Agents is in excess of two billions of dollars. The Federal reserve banks hold, in the shape of reserve balances for their members, about one billion, seven hundred millions of dollars.

The total note issues of the Federal reserve banks are about two billions, eight hundred millions. The Federal reserve note may be issued in two ways. It may be exchanged directly for gold, dollar for dollar; or the Federal reserve bank may issue it upon a deposit with the Federal Reserve Agent at each bank of commercial paper—which the bank has discounted or acquired by purchase in the open market, or discounted for member banks—for sixty per cent of the amount of notes desired, gold being deposited in like manner for the remaining forty per cent. Federal reserve notes are redeemable in gold at the Treasury in Washington, or in gold or lawful money

at any Federal reserve bank, and these redemptions have been made steadily all during the war. In no case has a Federal reserve bank refused to redeem a note in gold.

Now, in addition, we have the Federal reserve bank note, which is very much like the old National bank note. The Federal reserve bank note is secured by bonds or obligations of the Government of the United States. They have been issued principally to take the place of the silver dollars and the silver certificates which have been retired under an Act passed in April, 1918. You will remember that at a very critical period of the war there was a crisis in India; and Lord Reading, who was then Ambassador to the United States, pointed out the necessity of rectifying the Indian situation in order to prevent paper rupees being presented in amounts in excess of the ability of the Indian Treasury to redeem them. This legislation was secured in a remarkably short time. Those of you who are familiar with American financial history will remember that we spent twenty years discussing silver coinage before the matter was finally settled. But in three days the Act was passed authorizing the retirement of silver certificates and the melting of \$350,000,000. This legislation undoubtedly saved the situation in India.

We have now outstanding two hundred million dollars of Federal reserve bank notes. The reserves against these notes are five per cent in gold, or a greater amount at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Thus, our total Federal reserve note issues are about three billions of dollars. This amount is not a fixed quantity, for we have now a flexible currency; and as the demand for currency decreases the notes will come in for redemption, and we anticipate that the maximum for this year has just about been reached. By the middle of February there may be a reduction of anywhere from two to four hundred millions of dollars.

In pointing out the good that the Federal Reserve Act has accomplished, I do not want to minimize some of the dangers that accompany too free a use of credit. There is no question, as you can see for yourselves, that the United States would have been absolutely powerless to have financed itself and to have loaned ten billions to the Allies during the war had it not been for our new system, for what could we have accomplished under the old system with 28,000 separate banks all pulling apart, with no unity, no co-operation whatever? We could not have sold and taken care of the twenty-one billions of bonds and

seven or eight billions of dollars of Treasury certificates. It would have been absolutely impossible.

The old law provided that in no circumstances should any national bank be indebted for borrowed money, either as bills payable or as rediscounts, in an amount exceeding its capital stock. With such a limitation, we could not have financed the war as we did. The Federal Reserve Act places no limitation upon the amount that a member bank can borrow from a Federal reserve bank. We have had cases where a bank has subscribed for bonds and Treasury certificates to an amount much larger than its capital. A bank may have \$500,000 capital and subscribe for \$5,000,000 of bonds, and have its Federal reserve bank discount its note secured by the bonds. Of course, the power to expand credit in war time is very necessary and very useful.

Our bonds have been fairly well distributed. We had an investing population of about 300,000 before the war. We have now a list of 20,000,000 bond subscribers. Out of twenty-one billions of dollars of war bonds which have been floated and three and a half million, approximately, of Treasury certificates outstanding, the Federal reserve banks are carrying in the shape of collateral loans about one billion, seven hundred millions on Government obligations, which indicates a pretty good distribution.

But there is one thing we have to contend with. Our people have been told that they need no longer fear a currency panic such as occurred in 1907. I think that is correct; for if there is any need for currency the Federal reserve system can provide any amount that may be required for a temporary emergency. As there is no legal limitation as to the amount a member bank may borrow, we have to watch closely any tendency to abuse the privileges of the Federal reserve system. For months past there has been evidence of a strong speculative spirit all over the United States, a spirit which is essentially dangerous. It has been over a year since the armistice; and, naturally, just after the armistice we felt like celebrating. The whole country was enthusiastic at the end of the war.

But, in a sense, we have been celebrating ever since. We have overlooked certain elements of danger. We have had in the United States a period of industrial unrest, and a succession of strikes. After the armistice, people expected prices would go down. But prices and wages have been going up in a vicious circle, chasing each other around the table.

First prices go up, then wages go up; up go prices again, and then wages. There seems to be no end to it. The cost of living is getting to be a very serious problem, and it is very necessary for us in the United States to take cognizance of the problem; and my colleagues on the Federal Reserve Board appreciate the importance of checking the tendency toward undue expansion.

We have, through force of circumstances, an abundance of money in circulation and a very large volume of bank credits; but there is no reason why we should turn with reckless abandon to unbridled speculation and unchecked extravagance. We had during the war a fine spirit of self-sacrifice. We distinguished between essentials and non-essentials. We developed a spirit of thrift such as we never had in the United States before or since. We practised thrift that we might save goods to ship abroad to our armies, and we economized in order that we might buy Government securities. We have not finished with war finance and we are still technically at war, for our treaty of peace has not yet been ratified.

We must inculcate in our people the old war-time spirit of thrift and economy. It seems to me that in order to stimulate production we must reach the people who are holding back, the people whom you might say are slackers—and that term, which was used very effectively during the war, ought to be used now. The man who can work and won't is a slacker, just as he was during the war. And capital and credit applied in the wrong direction are slackers to-day, just as during the war. We must get back to the war-time spirit and practice economy; and by refusing to pay some of the exorbitant prices demanded and by self-denial, we can point out to the great community at large the way back to a solid basis.

I shall not attempt to discuss European conditions, for I have only second-hand information. You had a speaker here last Monday, who gave you, perhaps, as dismal a view of the situation as any one will. We have heard more optimistic views and we have tried to strike an average of opinions. We frankly say that we don't know how much money will be needed for financing Europe; but we do know that it is necessary, for the rehabilitation of Europe and for the re-adjustment of permanent peace and prosperity throughout the world, to get the populations of Europe back to work, back to a point where they can support themselves and gradually pay back what they owe.

The great trouble with the world today has been the destruction of the real wealth, the liquid wealth, as represented by goods and commodities. There has been a tremendous expansion of credit and inflation of currency throughout the world, and there has been a corresponding reduction of the volume of goods. Our problem, from an economic standpoint, is to so increase the volume of goods without increasing in like degree the volume of credit that we may ultimately restore a proper relation between the volume of credit and the volume of goods.

And, gentlemen, after all is said and done, there is only one way in which we can accomplish this. We can best describe the process by these two words, "Work" and "Save". We must work in order to produce. We must save in order to liquidate Government obligations and expanded credits and get back to firm and stable ground.

We in the United States have a great responsibility and duty to the rest of the world. We have a large population. We have great productive capacity. We were not in the war as long as the rest of you. For two years we profited at the expense of others. We received great accumulations of gold. We sold our goods at a large profit. Our wealth increased enormously. I want to say to you that we of the United States realize our obligations and appreciate our duty. We are anxious to help the rest of the world. We had in Washington ten days ago, and in New York last week, one of the most interesting and delightful visitors we have ever had. He impressed us with the dignity of his bearing, with his unassuming manner, and with his pre-eminent fitness for the place he occupies. I refer to the Prince of Wales. There never was a visit of any foreign potentate or dignitary more productive of good than his.

A good deal has been said about further credits by the Government of the United States to foreign countries. As you know, the United States has already advanced ten billions of dollars to foreign countries. When we entered this war, our total national debt was around a billion of dollars. Our national indebtedness today is not far from twenty-five billions of dollars. Our pre-war budget was about eight hundred millions; our budget for 1919 is over six billions of dollars. There is only one way through which the Government of the United States could extend credits abroad; and that is by getting the money from the people; this can be done either by further increasing taxation, which we feel is already heavy

enough, or by another issue of bonds. Another issue of bonds would mean harmful inflation. We have had to resort to credit expansion to do what we have, because our normal investing capacity is not more than six or seven billion dollars a year and yet we have floated twenty-five billions of obligations in two and a half years. We have had to anticipate future savings. Our thought is that there is no possibility of further Government aid to foreign countries. I think we might all get that idea out of our minds.

But we resort to private initiative, to individual enterprise. The United States is a great agricultural and manufacturing nation. We are anxious to sell goods. We realize we cannot maintain our trade relations with the rest of the world unless we give credits. Our exports for the first ten months of this year amounted to about six billions, and our imports only to three billions. We have had to give credits for the balance, and we must extend further credits. I think Americans understand that.

There is pending in Congress, a bill known as the "Edge Bill", which bears the name of its author and sponsor, the Senator from New Jersey. It provides that corporations having a capital of not less than two millions of dollars may be organized for the purpose of financing exports, to be supervised by the Federal Reserve Board. They will buy foreign securities, and extend credits abroad as they are needed. They will be authorized to issue their own debentures, secured by foreign obligations, and sell them to American investors, in order to replenish their funds and continue the transactions.

Our information is that considerable sums of money are being remitted to Europe every week by people who are either of European birth or of European parentage. Those sums may be small in detail, but they are very large in the aggregate. After we have the Peace Treaty ratified and the tide of tourist travel sets again towards Europe, credits by Americans will undoubtedly be very heavy. That will help relieve the situation. And we in the United States are told by many of the delegations that call on us that, while they will need credits for five or ten years in order to overcome adverse exchange conditions, yet we must not think they are going to need them continuously. What they need is long time credits now; and after this winter and next spring are past, they expect to have so far advanced in Europe that they will be able to pay all current obligations thereafter.

We get particularly encouraging news from Belgium; and we all know that England is going to take care of herself. She has great problems; but her centuries of experience as the world's banker, her position as the center of the world's shipping, make her position absolutely secure. We have not the slightest doubt about that. With regard to your own situation, your Canadian exchange being at a heavy discount, in terms of our own, creates a condition which while it may be a little mortifying to you from the standpoint of civic pride, is not, I take it, without its compensations.

It is a situation which concerns us in the United States more than it affects you, for Canada for years has been the largest customer of the United States. We have sold more goods to Canada than we have to all the rest of the western hemisphere combined. We have sold you—I have not the figures before me, but my recollection is—an average for seven years past of \$750,000,000 a year; and we have bought from you \$350,000,000 or \$400,000,000 a year. You have had constantly an adverse trade balance with us of between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000. But you have always had balances due you from Great Britain. Ordinarily, you have settled by selling your sterling bills in New York, and but for the discount on sterling there, Canadian bills would be par.

There has been some talk of floating a Canadian loan in the United States. If Canada wants to borrow in the United States I do not think there is any doubt that our American investors would avail themselves of the opportunity to lend. We know you. We have had uninterrupted trade relations with you for more than one hundred years; we have had 3,000 miles of border during all this time, on which there never has been a cannon or a soldier, and never a warship on the Great Lakes. We have lived on terms of peace and amity with you, and a Canadian loan would appeal to Americans almost as an American loan. But it seems to me that what you want is to have us mobilize our credits with a view to relieving the situation in Europe; for, if we relieve the situation there and get Europe stabilized, your own exchange is going to take care of itself. You have a great Dominion, plenty of vacant land, and great development ahead of you. You are attracting the notice of American investors to an extent greater than ever before.

The discount on Canadian exchange makes it more difficult for American merchants and manufacturers to sell in Canada

because it adds to the cost of our goods; and, conversely, it stimulates Canadian sales in the United States. For instance, if a Canadian should buy \$100 worth of goods in Buffalo, it would cost him \$104.50 to pay for them. But the cost to him in Toronto would be \$100. And if a Buffalo man bought \$100 worth of goods in Buffalo it would cost him \$100; and, at the present rate of exchange, only \$96 if he bought the goods in Toronto. Thus, an adverse exchange rate stimulates your exports and has a tendency to restrict your imports. It gives you an opportunity for cementing your own trade relationships among yourselves and for building up industries in Canada that you did not ordinarily have. I am not here to advocate, of course, the desirability of an abnormal exchange rate as a permanent condition. I am merely pointing out that there is a compensation. No matter how mortifying the present situation may be to your civic pride, after all the remedy lies in extending credits to France, England, Italy and Belgium, and other countries in the old world, for commercial and constructive purposes.

I know you are all busy men and I must not detain you longer. Let me thank you again for the warmth of your welcome and for the very kind attention you have given to my remarks. And let me say in conclusion that we Americans believe that our problems admit of solution, and that they will be solved. While there seems to be no probability that our Government will extend further credits to Europe, I feel assured that private capital in America is ready to do its full part in the work of world rehabilitation and restoration.

(December 3, 1919.)

Present Problems in Ontario

BY HONOURABLE E. C. DRURY.*

Your Honour and Gentlemen, I feel highly honoured being your guest at this meeting to-day because I recognize, not only the standing of the Canadian Club in this City of Toronto, but I recognize also the very useful work, the almost indispensable work, this organization is doing throughout this province and the Dominion. It is highly important that public opinion should be formed correctly, and in forming that opinion your organization has no mean part. That citizens should get together and hear with open minds all questions of public interest discussed is essential in order that we may have well-informed public opinion. Without it we cannot carry on the government of the country and cannot carry on our influence as we should.

Mr. President, it is not the first time I have been the guest of the Toronto Canadian Club. I recall that fourteen years ago you asked an unknown young farmer, who had made some statement before the Tariff Commission of the Laurier Government, to be your guest. I do not remember where you held your meeting. I do distinctly remember that the gathering was not more, I think I am safe in saying, than one third or one quarter the size of this gathering. I congratulate you on the progress you have made in numbers and in importance in the ensuing years.

Now you want to know something about this strange thing that has come to pass. It is a thing that was unlooked for and that came as a total surprise, and to no one was it a greater surprise than to the organized farmers themselves. With the organized farmers the political movement was a very secondary consideration. And of the political movement of the organized farmers the provincial movement was a secondary consideration; because, frankly, the organized farmers throughout the province were thinking most seriously of Dominion political matters, and of provincial matters as

*Mr Drury addressed the Club shortly after taking office as Premier of Ontario, at the head of a Farmer-Labor Government.

only of secondary importance. So I feel very humble to-day in coming to speak to you of something which might be described as only of secondary importance.

However, the fact of the matter was this, that a great organization had grown up throughout the country; that organization had taken as its watch word, "Service." It was organized along unselfish lines. It has never asked for anything in the line of legislation other than the square deal. No one can point his finger at a single resolution passed by the United Farmers of Ontario and say it asked for anything like class privilege. In fact, from the first we have been fighting class consideration in our defense. It was against our principles, and those principles have never been violated to ask for anything like class privileges for ourselves.

That organization entered the political field, not as an organization, but individually,—the counties, the ridings, entered the field. They had no thought, frankly, on entering other than to obtain adequate representation for their calling, which they thought inadequately represented in the past, they thought that there were not enough representatives in the Legislature to put forward properly the claims of the basic industry of the country. And you know how the basic industry, which is agriculture and which I think will remain agriculture,—had been declining. It had been declining largely because the viewpoint of that industry had not been put forward with sufficient force and clearness in the legislatures and parliament of the country.

With that decline we were greatly concerned. It does not matter what your occupation is, it is of great concern to all of you. This great City of Toronto, with its manufacturers, with its great commercial interests, with its universities, is, after all, dependent, as our national life is dependent, for its vitality on the land back of Toronto and back of all our other towns and cities. We cannot get away from that; and it is not stressing one phase of our national life too much if we face clearly the fact that without agriculture Canada would be a nonentity; and the public knows it, you know it; and we might as well face the fact.

The farmers realized that their only salvation lay in taking action; but in taking action they did not expect what they got. They found themselves—a political party with no head at all—the only party at all likely to be capable of carrying on the King's government. And so they carried on. In pre-

paration they held a convention; and, whether wisely or not, chose me as their leader. I did my best to form a Government. We have one or two samples here to-day; you can look them over and see whether they meet with your approval.

I have this to say, however, that I am not ashamed of my colleagues, and I am getting more proud every day of the colleagues I have been able to gather around me. They will do good work in the government of this province. We are faced with a very difficult situation; and, as I know your time is short, I mean to deal with just a few specific things we mean to take action on in the future—whether that future be long or short.

I want to tell you something of the political situation with which we are confronted. We are confronted with the fact that the two groups which have formed the coalition and are undertaking the government have a very very narrow majority, and that the followers themselves of these two groups are not of a servile frame of mind. But with all the difficulties I am glad that we cannot count a servile following in the House. It would be a great misfortune if we could count noses and know every man who would support us. We are placed in a position where we cannot count noses; and, while I do not know the Labor men as well as the U. F. O. men, I know these men will insist upon thinking for themselves and forming their own conclusions. We will have that condition in the house where the Government will have to appeal, on every question, on the merits of the proposal itself.

Caucus government, I think, will be a thing of the past. I think it will be impossible because I do not think that the majority party in the House is in any mood to sink individual views to the will of the majority in caucus. That means that every question will have to be discussed and tested in the House on its merits; it means that the Government must be very careful as to its measures, which will come before representatives of the people, and not representatives of a party, for decision. Each question will be decided on the merits of that question, and not on its merits from the party standpoint.

I know, Mr. President, that perhaps tradition has forced us into the form of party government in Ontario. Personally, I have not been able to see very much justification for it—for the idea that there must be two parties; one party which is known as His Majesty's Government, and the other party

as His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. It is rather a misnomer to begin with; and when it is the duty of one party on any and all occasions to oppose every measure, it does not appeal to me as being the best we can get out of our representative system. After all, important things performed by our municipal governments—cities, towns, counties, and townships—which do more governing than the central bodies, are performed by bodies not divided into opposition and government, but who meet together to give the best that is in them in considering all the matters that come before them.

Whether we wish it or not, we are going to face very much that condition in our parliament. I think it will be for the good of the whole province. We are going to be faced with a difficult proposition, or rather the Speaker will be, in deciding who is leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. The Speaker may be put to the necessity of drawing straws for it, or cutting it out. I believe that name is a misnomer. I do not see why there is any such thing as a "Loyal Opposition" and a leader of that "Loyal Opposition." I have hopes that this new experiment will result in largely mitigating the evils of the party system as applied to our legislature.

Now, our tenure of life, a good many will say, is uncertain. It may be. I do not know that it is at all important that it should be certain. I do not know that it is at all important that we should fortify ourselves to last one year, or four years, or ten years. I do know that it is all-important that we should carry on our government clean and straight. And I wish to stand on record that it will do nothing, that I will do nothing, to make us more secure in office or to prolong our life as a government at the sacrifice of our honesty and straightforwardness. To me, personally, it is a matter of extreme indifference whether I shall carry on the work I am attempting now or whether I shall go back to my farm. That does not matter at all. It is a matter of vital interest to me that there should be good government, clean government, and strong government. The personal element will sink out of it so far as I am concerned, and so far, I think, as all the members of the Cabinet are concerned. The important thing is that we steer a straight course, and I shall leave nothing undone to steer that straight course.

As to the problems that confront us, there has been expressed the opinion that Ontario might look for class legislation from a government which has had its birth in a class movement.

We need not disguise matters. We need not cover them up. The farmers organized as a class organization, as a powerful, solid, homogeneous organization; and they elected what is at least the nucleus of the present Government. Need we fear class legislation? I think I speak not only for myself and my Cabinet, but for the representatives in the House; and I speak for more than that, I speak for the great population in the country. I had the pleasure of meeting a very representative gathering of them last night; and I put to them this one question, "Do you want or do you expect from the Government you put into power anything in the line of class legislation?" And the whole hall thundered, "NO." I believe that is the truth of the matter. There is no thought of class legislation.

But there is a deeper thing this country, this province, wants and that is progressive legislation. The tasks that confront us are largely of an administrative nature. We have got good laws, lots of them. The great trouble with them in the past was that they have not been enforced. Our problem will not be to introduce very many new laws. For the immediate future there is nothing very drastic or very revolutionary required in the matter of legislation. The matters that lie before us are largely administrative, and I believe an administration along right lines can do a great deal for the province.

Some questions are up. One is the great question of Education. I am frank to say that I think the biggest question at the present time is nursed by my friend Honourable Mr. Grant, the question of education. We have had in this province in the past a great educational system, we have had universities that have done magnificent work. We have had a great deal of attention paid to higher education, and it has given results; but perhaps we do neglect the education of the ninety per cent. of our people who do not get any farther than the common schools. It will not be for us, then, in any way to minimize the importance of the collegiate, nor will it be for us to restrict the Universities. We want that work to go on. But we must consider, and we must improve, the common school education.

It seems to me the educational condition of a people requires a good average and it does not altogether get us out of the difficulty if we have a comparatively few extra-well-learned men. I remember hearing of a man who described a fence—

and I may speak in agricultural terms. A visitor asked him whether it was a good fence. He said, "Well, it was a good average fence anyway, low in some spots and high in others." It didn't serve the purpose of a fence, because a fence is just about as high all over as it is in its lowest part. A similar situation exists in regard to education. The vital need of this country is education in the common schools which shall fit the ninety per cent for intelligent, thinking citizenship.

It is perhaps a little too soon to make any announcement of policy. We have, however, thought that this is our first and most serious consideration. Frankly, I believe a great deal can be done along the line of simplification of curriculum and along the line of freeing the teachers from too much regulation; because, after all, there is no reason in the world why Tom Smith and John Brown, two boys of different capabilities, although expected to go through school together, should be put through entirely the same mill and turned out in the same mould. If we could give our teachers a little freedom and get away from a condition of too much authority from the top, we could approach the condition of the schools of thirty and forty years ago, which did excellent work in turning out good citizens.

I have never had much faith in a man being able to direct another man how to plow from across a forty-rod field. And I have not very much faith in an official sitting in his office being able to direct the minute matters that come before the teachers in the country and the towns. I believe that along the line of freedom—and perhaps of a campaign which will arouse popular interest in that thing which is of the most public interest, that thing of education of the ninety per cent—lies the hope of revivification of the common schools which will enable the teachers to remain with their schools and take the permanent place which they should take in the rural district. It is our duty, and we will make an honest attempt to solve this question.

I do not believe it will be directed along technical or vocation lines. I do not care for that idea. It was the idea Germany carried through to perfection. After all, the main thing is not to make good carpenters or good farm hands; the main thing is to make good citizens. That is only one of the many questions, and I want to get along for your sake and for mine too.

Another big question we have to deal with immediately is the question of forests, the forest policy of this province. Twenty years ago I was one of a group of students who got together and began to take a great deal of interest in forests. You know, the old foresters of the Canadian forests did not care anything about the preservation of our forests, they just simply went in and cut down what they wanted. You probably remember old men speaking disparagingly of second-growth timber. Well, we all know that all timber is second-growth, or thousand-growth.

The effect of our forestry policy, or lack of policy has been that gradually our timber resources have been depleted. Now, seventy years will produce a pine forest that is of high mercantile value and growing more valuable every year. We have neglected that fact. Our great north country, where it already is cut over, could produce timber crops; but has been mistreated to the detriment of the whole of the province. Areas have been burnt over time and again, and nothing has been done in the way of reforestation. Nothing was done but appeal to the lumbermen to replace wastage. Lumbering regulations have been relaxed. Brush has been left on the ground; and fire dropped there causing conflagrations in future years, destroying settlers on the ground. We have got to remedy all that, and see to it that the great north country is made a source of revenue to the whole province, and a feeder to the great industrial communities of this country, as a regulator of occupation and employment.

We talk a great deal—and this is referring to an agricultural line again, of the difficulty of getting help on the farm, essential help. The great regulator in times past was the employment in the lumber woods; but, as those lumber woods receded farther north year by year and that industry got into the hands of foreigners and out of the hands of native-born Canadians, that essential employment disappeared. That is only one instance of the benefits of a properly carried on restorative forestry policy. We have got to take that policy, and in doing it we will have to use a good deal of foresight, and spend perhaps a little of the people's money. We will have to get a little more money for the people out of the operations that are going on in the north country, where it can be done without injury or hardship. You people in the city of Toronto are as interested as I, a farmer in North Simcoe, in the forestry policy of Ontario. It is in the interests of us all.

And, really, in the past our failure to conserve forest resources has been an act of criminal negligence. We have permitted destruction with never a thought of replacement. While we have been neglecting our timber areas timber has grown up on our farms here and there, a fact which seems to me to be a reminder of shame to the whole province in its neglect of reforestation.

A neighbor of mine near Barrie sold, a year ago last winter, a very little more than an acre of white pine. Later he told me it had grown up in sixty or seventy years without an axe being put to it. He teamed it a little more than four miles and got \$500 for the produce of little more than an acre. It opens in your mind the question of what might be done in the direction of wealth-production by reforestation. It is our task to establish a forestry policy which will perpetuate and reproduce our forestry resources.

Some people have wondered why there has been a division made in the Ministry of Lands, Forests, and Mines. I think the magnitude of that new task will answer the question. As I understand the work of government, the initiation of policies cannot come from deputy-ministers, cannot come from the clerks, but the Minister himself, with advice and counsel, must initiate his own policies and be responsible for them. We have had one man over what we have now made two separate departments, and we know there has not been the necessary steam propelling either. We have tried to get men at the head of each of the two departments who have given thought to the requirements of the north country and who will make those requirements the vital matters they should be. It is important; it is vital.

I hope to go north to-morrow with the Minister of Lands and Forests and the Minister of Mines, to see New Ontario, to hear the people and get their thoughts. I may say we are not troubling however with the question of secession to any degree. I had a letter the other day threatening all sorts of things, including secession, telling us that the people of the north would not stand for a great many things. I do not think the man was at all representative. He signed it as a member of the Executive of the Liberty League.

And that leads me to say something about the Government prohibition policy. As you know, the Farmers' Party made that a plank in their platform, and we will consider it our duty to enforce that law impartially, as strictly as need be.

and effectively. The people have pronounced on the question. There is no question of it being a trick ballot. It was not a trick ballot. The people answered the question fully. They gave their opinions on four separate and distinct questions. That opinion is crystallized in legislation; and we will see that it is carried through impartially and fearlessly, because we do not intend to make it possible for one class to do what the other class cannot do. Personally, I think it would be discriminating against the rich if we allowed them to drink and the poor not to drink. And I do not favor discrimination of that sort at all. I think that fair and equal enforcement is what we require.

Those are some of the problems that we have before us, and we have not an easy task by any means. We are lacking in political experience, and, therefore, it is quite possible we will make mistakes. But all we ask from the legislature, and all we ask from the people, is a square deal to see what we can do. If we do not make at least an honest attempt, and I think a little more than that—honesty of purpose is not all—if we do not accomplish something; then it will be the duty of the people of this province to see to it that we get out.

I am going to tell you one thing; we are not going to entrench ourselves in power by any patronage system—absolutely not. Patronage, as far as the inside civil service is concerned, has been abolished entirely. We have not as yet been able to work out any satisfactory uniform system for outside appointments. That remains to be worked out, and we believe it can be. That, in my opinion, is a big step in the right direction. The men who serve this province must get appointments solely on the question of merit. I see no reason for putting a man off the provincial pay list simply because he happened to be a supporter of another party. We are not doing it; we do not intend to do it if he is efficient, if he is a capable man. I believe in the main the civil service is manned by good honest men. If they have the assurance that their promotion will be based on merit and that outsiders will not be brought in and put over their heads because they are supporters of any party, I believe we can have a good, sound, honest, and efficient civil service.

Mr. Chairman, I think I have taken up your time long enough. For my own good, as well as for your own, I am not going to burden you with any further remarks. I think

it would be dangerous to do so. We have great problems facing us, and all we ask of the people of Ontario is a fair chance to show what we can do. If we cannot accomplish anything, if we do not do something to better the general administration, then we will deserve what we will get, I think, at the hands of the citizens of this province.

I thank you again for this second honor I have had of speaking to the now large and powerful Canadian Club in the city of Toronto. The other occasion was a smaller one, but this, I feel, is a great honour, Mr. President, and I thank you for it.

(December 8, 1919.)

Admiral Viscount Jellicoe

Mr. Chairman, your Honour, and gentlemen of the Canadian and Empire Clubs;—I regret exceedingly that I have got to begin by contradicting the chairman, as I had to contradict His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor last night. The British Navy did not win the war. The British Navy made it possible for the armies to win the war. The British Navy could not have won the war, because a war must be finished on land. If the British Navy does its job it makes it possible for the armies to do theirs; and right well did the British army, assisted by those splendid forces coming from overseas, do its job. And amongst Canadians, I may make you blush, but it is true that Canada did her part at least as well as anybody else; and one of the proudest souvenirs which I have of the war, one of the most prized souvenirs, is a stick made out of the wood of the Cloth Hall at Ypres. I am not sure that there is not more than one. Anyhow I have got one which was given to me during a visit to France last year by some of the members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

I suppose that most of you know the reason for my visit to Canada. I have been invited here. I am not an uninvited guest. But why I am in Toronto I really do not know, except that again I have been invited to Toronto. The object of my visit to Canada was a matter of duty. I am not quite so sure that I can say that my visit to Toronto is altogether one of pleasure. It is a real pleasure to make the acquaintance of the Toronto people; but it is not a bit of a pleasure to talk to them, as I have had to do since I have been here and as I have still got to do for the remaining hours of my stay.

I have earned my lunch; or rather, perhaps, I have got to try to earn it.

Well, perhaps, as there is some dispute between the chairman and myself as to who won the war I had better begin by saying what I conceive to be the duties of the British Navy during war. And I take it that those duties are three-fold; first, the

*Viscount Jellicoe commanded the Grand Fleet for the first two and a half years of the War, and was in Canada to advise our Government concerning Naval defence schemes.

destruction of the enemy's armed forces if you can get at 'em; secondly, to free the seas of enemy vessels and to deny the seas to the enemy's merchant ships; and, thirdly, to make certain that the seas are quite clear and are defended for the use of our own vessels.

As to the first of these objects; of course if the first is achieved the rest follow automatically. But it is not always quite an easy matter to destroy a fellow who does not want to be destroyed, and there is quite naturally a feeling on the part of the other fellow if he does not want to be destroyed to stop in a place of safety, and the Kiel canal is quite a safe place in war. On one or two occasions, perhaps on four occasions, portions of the enemy's armed forces showed themselves in the North Sea, but they did not stay long enough to be wiped out. And there, again, I think they were quite wise.

As regards the second task, the clearing of the enemy's ships from the seas, you may remember perhaps that at the commencement of the war there were 915 German merchant ships abroad; and of that number 156 got home, the majority of them being near home when war broke out. The remainder disappeared off the seas in a few days. They mostly sought shelter in neutral ports, some of them were captured at sea and taken into British ports. And the German warships also disappeared in a few months, but not until they had inflicted some loss upon mercantile marine and some loss upon the navy.

The principal loss which we suffered in the navy was, of course, the loss of Admiral Craddock's gallant force at Coronel; and in that action four Canadian midshipmen gave the supreme sacrifice. The result of that action was due, first, to a very considerable inferiority of force on the part of the British squadron, and secondly, to the fact that the squadron was a hastily mobilized squadron when war started, manned by reservists largely who had not had the opportunity of being trained in the ships in which they fought; and they were up against the two finest shooting ships in the German navy. And Admiral Craddock knew all that, but he felt that it was his duty to endeavor to inflict such damage on those ships as would prevent their getting into the Atlantic before we had forces to deal with them; and in carrying out his duty he went down, taking with him all his gallant comrades.

The result of that action was due to the inferiority of our overseas forces at the commencement of the war; and I think it is a lesson to us in future that we ought to maintain, not

only in the main theatre of war but in every part of the world, forces which are sufficient to deal with any possible enemy.

In the task of guarding the sea communications of the Empire the Navy was faced with two separate and distinct wars—first, the war on surface vessels, and, secondly, the war instituted by submarines. So far as the first description of war is concerned, the navy in spite, I think, of the inferiority of our overseas squadrons, has reason to be satisfied with the result. We lost some 106 or 107 of our British merchant ships during the four-and-a-half years of war by the attack of the enemy's surface vessels, and if you compare that with other wars there is reason for satisfaction. In the two years after Trafalgar, when if ever the navy had command of the sea, it was then, we lost over 1,000 merchant ships. During the Civil war in the United States two Confederate cruisers in 22 months accounted for 129 Northern merchant ships. The majority of the ships which we lost were lost by reason of the work of the disguised enemy raiders, and they were a class of vessels with which it was very difficult to deal.

Our first experience with them was in the action between the raider *Grieffe* and the armed merchant ships *Alcantara* and *Andes*. The *Grieffe* was trying to get out of the North Sea and she was sighted by the *Andes* and *Alcantara*. She was flying Norwegian colors and she appeared to all intents and purposes as a peaceful trader. It was necessary, of course, to board her to ascertain her true character; and the *Alcantara* closed near to board. Whilst she was hoisting out her boat for that purpose, the *Grieffe* threw down her bulwarks concealing her guns, fired a torpedo from her submarine tube and opened fire on the *Alcantara*. The torpedo took effect, and in the first few moments the gun fire was very effective—until the *Alcantara* replied, and with great effect. The torpedo itself finished the *Alcantara*, which sank; but not before she had finished off the *Grieffe*.

That experience made it very difficult to know how to deal with vessels of that nature in the future, because you must board a vessel to find out what she is like. The Germans showed, of course, great ingenuity in the disguise of their raiders, and the greatest example of ingenuity was that in the case of the *See Adler*. The *See Adler* was a sailing ship with auxilliary power, and on Christmas day of 1916 she was sighted by another of our armed merchant vessels and was brought to. The description of the captain of the *See Adler*

is one of great interest. He has written a book which some of you may have read. It gives some idea of the ingenuity displayed and the difficulties with which you have to deal in tackling vessels of that nature. I will tell you something about her.

She was some months fitting out. Her captain spoke Norwegian. She fitted out as a Norwegian vessel and when she sailed she adopted the name of a Norwegian vessel which was sailing at the same time; and she had all her papers made out to show that she was a Norwegian vessel, in case she was boarded. The captain was taking no risks and until he got clear of all cruisers and well out in the Atlantic he kept his guns in the hold covered by cargo. He had the decks of his cabins fitted to disappear, in case of necessity, by means of a hydraulic system, lever-operated in the cabin. The idea was that if the British boarded him and put an armed guard on board he would get them into the cabin, pull the lever, and they would find themselves down below with some gentlemen with pistols at their heads.

He was anxious that one particular portion of the cabin which contained the apparatus should not be examined, so he dressed one of his younger officers up as a woman and explained when the boarding officer got on board that his wife was very ill and he hoped she would not be disturbed. The boarding officer went on board, went down to the cabin and examined the papers; and found everything, as he thought, satisfactory, so the lever was not pulled, and the sick wife was duly sympathized with. Meanwhile, a gramophone on deck was playing, "It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary." No suspicions were aroused and the vessel was allowed to go, and I don't think that anyone can blame our officer for being spoofed.

Well, now, the submarine campaign is not a matter for congratulations so far as its results were concerned; because our losses as you all know were exceedingly heavy. But neither the Germans nor anybody else, including ourselves, recognized quite the capabilities of the submarine before the war. Capt. Persius, a German Naval writer, who spends a good deal of his time now in abusing Admiral Von Tirpitz, has complained that Admiral Tirpitz did not recognize before the war the capabilities of submarines; and Persius thought he ought to have built a great many more. Well, he was not alone in that. Nobody had tumbled to the fact that submarines could keep

the sea for the time that they succeeded in doing during the war, and that they were independent of overseas bases. Our strategy in the earlier days was rather adapted to capturing what we imagined the Germans must have for bases, either floating or on shore, from which their submarines were operated. And we had an excuse for that feeling, which was held by many officers for three or four years until it was realized how great a radius of action submarines had.

When the Germans realized the capabilities of submarines if put to the inhuman use to which they put theirs, they started with an immense advantage over us. In the first place the whole of their shipbuilding capabilities could be devoted to building submarines; and German ship yards are very efficiently equipped and they made great use of them, although Capt. Persius complained that they did not build enough. There is a very hot argument going on now between Admiral Von Capell and Von Tirpitz as to which built the most. Our job, of course, was to find counter measures.

Counter measures before the war did not exist. The first and most obvious counter measure was to gather our trade into convoys in order that the submarines would have to approach a guarded convoy in order to attack. It was an easier matter to concentrate our merchant ships into convoys than to get them through the submarine zone, provided always that we had enough vessels to guard the convoy; and, of course, for the first three years of the war we had not.

Then, all the brains were at work in endeavoring to find some other counter to submarines in the way of offensive measures. Of course, the obvious remedy was to prevent the submarines getting out of their ports. But anybody after studying the exits from German rivers and German bases would see that in order to block these exits you would have to sink the greater part of the British Navy and the British mercantile marine at the entries. And having done that, there is still the back door out through Poland and the Sound or the Baltic into the Scaggerack; and it is impossible to block these exits because they pass through neutral waters. That remedy was not a possible one. And the brains got to work for remedies, and here I want to say that the Admiralty has great reason to be grateful to Canada for placing some of the brains which Canada did place at the Admiralty's disposal. Toronto itself has reason to be proud of the share which Toronto's representative took in that business. I won't name him be-

cause he is far too modest to like it. I don't mind naming a Naval Officer who had a great deal to do with it, Captain Robert York, of Rosythe.

Another remedy which had to be found was safety against the mines; and for that a naval officer, Lieut. Burney, a son of my old second-in-command in the Grand Fleet, gets the credit for finding a cure. Remedies produced, of course, all took time.

In the first half of 1917 our losses, as everybody knows, were appalling, nothing more or less. From that time on, as naval officers and the scientists produced remedies and the manufacturers manufactured the remedies, which was a long operation, we commenced to get the upper hand of the submarine menace; and by the end of 1917 the thing was pretty well in hand. I ventured once upon a time upon a prophecy—I was a great fool to do it. I prophesied in an extempore speech—I had to say something,—when you are caught unprepared and you have got to say something you sometimes make foolish remarks. At any rate, at the beginning of 1918 I prophesied that the submarine menace would be well in hand by August of 1918; and I was not far out, I think. I made the prophecy on my knowledge of what was in hand waiting for the German submarines as the manufacturers produced it.

Well now, can I take it that I have earned my lunch? I think we might turn our thoughts to the future. It is a dangerous thing to talk about future wars nowadays, and nobody wants to think about future wars at all. Everybody hopes that future wars are never coming, that the League of Nations is going to so operate as to prevent altogether any chance of future wars. At any rate, everybody hopes that the League of Nations is going to do a great deal towards minimizing the danger of future wars—when the League of Nations gets to work.

There are some members of that League of Nations who are dependent both for their lives and their prosperity upon the safety of sea communications. The United Kingdom, for instance, is dependent for its life upon the safety of sea communications. Some portions of the British Commonwealth overseas are dependent for their prosperity upon the safety of those communications. And we, in the United Kingdom anyhow, think it well to insure against the risk of the cutting of those communications.

As I drove along here I noticed a sky-scraper with the title, "Ocean Accidents—something or other." I imagine it was an insurance business against ocean accidents. Well, if we insure against ocean accidents, and insure against fire I think we are wise to insure also against interruption of our communications in war. And it might interest you to know what the mathematician on my staff works out is the United Kingdom's premium in that direction. The Navy Estimates, as I understand it,—I have no authority, but I have seen it stated in the press, that our Navy Estimates are sixty million pounds; \$300,000,000, with the pound at a reasonable figure. The value of the overseas trade of the United Kingdom is something like fifteen hundred million pounds; again when the pound is happy. And the insurance, therefore, taking the population of the United Kingdom at some forty-five or forty-six millions—the insurance works out at 26 shillings a head, per man; which is a premium—I hope I am right in my figures, I am not responsible myself—which is a premium of four per cent. Well, I am not an insurance agent, but it doesn't seem to me to be an unreasonable premium; and I thought it might interest you to have that figure. And that is all there is time for me to say.

I know that you are all very busy men. I think it must have been the duller of things to have watched us feeding whilst you were looking on, and I am exceedingly grateful for the great honor which you have paid to the British Navy in coming here to listen to a man who cannot talk and who hates talking. But I feel that you have done it because you wish to do honor to the navy; and if the navy knew of it, if they could see this great assemblage, every officer and man would feel exceedingly grateful that people should be found in Toronto who would give up so much valuable time to do that honor. And I feel all the more because I know that amongst this great audience there are many, many members of that gallant expeditionary force, the members of which we look upon in the navy as our brothers. Thank you, gentlemen.

(December 15, 1919.)

The Labour Clauses of the Peace Treaty and the Washington Conference

BY THE HON. N. W. ROWELL.*

The Treaty of Versailles creates two new International organizations—one the League of Nations; the other the Labour Organizations. The object of the League of Nations is to promote world peace by providing for the settlement of International disputes by conciliation or arbitration or by judicial determination; and by binding the nations to adopt one or other of these methods of settling all their International controversies before resorting to the arbitrament of war. The object of the International Labour Organization which is associated with the League of Nations, is to promote industrial peace, based on social justice, by improving, through international agreement, the conditions under which men live and labour.

So much thought and attention has been centred on the League of Nations that the significance and far-reaching importance of the International Labour Organization have not as yet been fully appreciated.

The Peace Treaty defines the purposes for which the International Labour Organization was formed. It sets before us a great social programme and creates an international organization to promote and if possible secure, the universal adoption and execution of this programme. The Treaty declares:—

That the establishment of universal peace, which is the object of the League of Nations, can only be secured if it is based upon social justice;

That conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to a large number of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled;

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That an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

That the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

And that the nations members of the League, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the establishment of a permanent organization for the promotion of the objects above set forth.

One of the most important articles in the Labour sections of the Treaty is a declaration of principle which has been described as the Magna Charta of Labour. It is declared that Labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce and that there are certain methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply so far as their special circumstances will permit; that among these methods and principles the following seem to be of special and urgent importance:—

First—The guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an eight hours' day or a forty-eight hours' week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

These principles were only agreed to by the nations signatory to the Treaty of Peace after prolonged consideration extending over some weeks, in which the Prime Minister of Canada took a leading part and it was on the motion of Sir Robert Borden that the Peace Conference unanimously adopted these principles.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

The permanent Labour organization consists of a General Conference of representatives of the members (that is, of the nations parties to the Treaty) and an International Labour Office controlled by a Governing Body. The membership in the Labour Organization is coincident with membership in the League of Nations. It was first the General Conference of representatives of the members which was held recently at Washington and it was the Governing Body which controls the International Labour Office which was elected at this Conference.

Every nation, member of the International Labour Organization, is entitled to send four representatives to the Conference—two representing the Government and two others representing respectively, the employers and the work-people. The non-government delegates are chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers and of work-people, as the case may be. In Canada, therefore, the employers' representative, Mr. Parsons, was chosen in agreement with the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the workers' delegate, Mr. Draper, in agreement with the Trades and Labour Council of Canada. Every delegate is entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Confer-

ence. This is in itself a new and radical departure in International gatherings. Heretofore the nation spoke through its Government; under the present organization each delegate has the right to vote as he considers right. Each delegate is entitled to be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the Agenda. As the majority of the subjects on the Agenda for the Washington Conference related to matters over which the Provincial legislatures have jurisdiction, the Government in choosing its advisers asked each Provincial Government in Canada to nominate an adviser and all the Provinces accepted this invitation and were worthily represented among the advisers to the Government delegates at the Washington Conference.

The functions of the Conference are to consider and, if possible, agree upon International action to give effect to the social programme outlined in the Treaty, each annual conference being limited to the consideration of the subjects placed on the Agenda for such Conference. The decisions of the Conference may take the form:—

(a) Of a recommendation to be submitted to the members for consideration, with a view to effect being given to it by National legislation or otherwise; or,

(b) Of a draft International Convention for ratification by the members.

In every case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present is necessary on the final vote for the adoption by the Conference, of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be.

In the case of a Federal State, such as the United States or Canada, the power of which to enter into conventions on labour matters is subject to limitations, it is in the discretion of that Government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of the Treaty with respect to recommendations would apply in such a case.

If a Convention or recommendation is adopted by the necessary majority, each member undertakes to submit the recommendation or draft convention to the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other appropriate action; the submission to be made within one year, if practicable, or in any event within eighteen months from the closing of the Conference. If the subject matter of the Convention is beyond the powers of the Federal Parliament but comes within the jurisdiction of a

Provincial Legislature, the Federal Government might treat the Convention as a recommendation and forward it to the Provincial Government for consideration. If no action is taken to make the recommendation effective, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation will rest upon the member. If, on the other hand, the recommendation is made effective by legislative action or if the convention is approved and ratified by the proper authority, then appropriate provisions are included in the Treaty to ensure the carrying out of the recommendation or convention.

The functions of the International Labour Office which carries on its work under the control of the Governing Body, includes the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the International adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of International Conventions and the conducting of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference. It is entrusted with, and in a sense it exercises, a measure of supervision over the carrying out of the recommendations made and conventions entered into pursuant to the decisions of the International Labour Conference.

The Governing Body which controls the International Labour Conference consists of twenty-four persons, twelve representing Governments and six persons elected by the delegates to the Conference representing the employers and six by the delegates representing the workers. Of the twelve persons representing Governments, eight shall be nominated by members which are of the chief industrial importance and four shall be nominated by members selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the Conference, excluding the delegates of the eight members mentioned above. At the Washington Conference Canada was chosen as one of the Governments entitled to name one of the twelve members representing the Governments and Mr. Draper, the Canadian Labour Delegate, was elected as one of the six delegates representing the workers, it being understood that if the United States comes into the Labour organization Mr. Draper will make way for Mr. Gompers. Of the twenty-four members constituting the Governing Body, twenty are from European countries and four from the rest of the world. This distribution occasioned a protest from the Conference but Canada could not complain so far as her own position was concerned

because of the four representing the rest of the world, Canada secured two. The fine position accorded Canada at the Conference was due largely to the esteem in which Canada is held because of the part she played in the war.

Provision was made in the Peace Treaty itself for the holding of the First International Labour Conference at Washington in the month of October of this year, the Conference to be called by the President of the United States. The Treaty also settled the Agenda, which was as follows:—

(1) Application of principle of the 8-hours day or the 48-hours week.

(2) Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.

(3) Women's employment:

(a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit;

(b) During the night;

(c) In unhealthy processes.

(4) Employment of children:

(a) Minimum age of employment;

(b) During the night;

(c) In unhealthy processes.

(5) Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Bern in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

The work of the Washington Conference was to consider this Agenda. Its deliberations concerned the social and industrial welfare of millions of people in every country in the world.

In view of the importance of, as well as the very great interest which has been taken in the action of the Conference respecting the eight hours day and forty-eight hours week, may I draw your attention particularly to the provisions of the Treaty of Peace in reference to this subject:

(1) As I have already intimated the Treaty defines the objects for which the International Labour Organization was created, asked to promote, and among the most important of these objects is the regulation of the hours of work including the establishment of a maximum working day and week."

(2) Among the principles which constitute the Magna Charta of Labour embodied in the Treaty and

accepted by the nations signatory thereto, is "The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week, as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained."

(3) The first item on the Agenda for consideration by the Washington Conference is "the application of the principle of the eight hours day or the forty-eight hours week."

The Washington Conference, therefore, was not called upon to consider the question of whether the regulation of the hours of work including the establishment of a maximum working day and week was wise or unwise; this matter was settled by the Treaty of Peace. Nor was the Washington Conference called upon to consider whether in so regulating the hours of work and establishing a maximum working day and week the principle of the eight hours day or the forty-eight hours week was wise or unwise; that also was settled by the Treaty of Peace. What the Washington Conference was called upon to consider and the only matter properly open to the Washington Conference to consider was what the Agenda provided, namely, "the application of the principle of the eight hours day or the forty-eight hour week" to the conditions existing in the world to-day. In considering the application of this principle the conference was required, by the express terms of the Treaty itself to have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances made the industrial conditions substantially different and to suggest such modifications, if any, as it considered might be required to meet the case of such countries. It was in the light of the foregoing provisions of the Treaty of Peace that the Conference proceeded with its task and as a result of four weeks of consideration and deliberation, the Conference practically unanimously (the vote being ninety for and two against) approved the form of a draft convention limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week.

As Canada is a member of the International Labour Organization and will be called upon to take action in reference to this Convention, as provided in the Treaty of Peace, I am sure you will be interested in an outline of its principal provisions:

1—The Convention applies to industrial undertakings only, not to commerce or agriculture, and the competent authority in each country must define the line of division between industry on the one hand and commerce and agriculture on the other.

2—It is provided that the working hours of those employed shall not exceed eight in the day and forty-eight in the week, with the exceptions provided for in the Convention. As these exceptions are of very great importance may I enumerate them for you.

(1) Persons holding positions of superintendence or management or employed in a confidential capacity.

(2) Where the hours of work on one or more days of the week are fewer than eight, the eight hour limit may be exceeded by not more than one hour per day. To illustrate: Where a Saturday half holiday is granted the hours of work on the other days of the week may be eight and a half or nine as the case may be so long as the forty-eight hours per week is not exceeded.

(3) Where persons are employed on shifts the eight hours day and forty-eight hours week may be exceeded provided the average number of hours over a three weeks' period does not exceed eight per day and forty-eight per week.

(4) The limit of hours may be exceeded in the case of accident, actual or threatened, or in the case of urgent work to be done to machinery or plant.

(5) The limit of hours may be exceeded in those processes which are required by reason of the nature of the process to be carried on continuously by a succession of shifts, subject to the condition that the working hours shall not exceed fifty-six in the week on the average.

(6) In exceptional cases where it is recognized that the limitation of hours of work to eight per day and forty-eight per week cannot be applied, agreements between workers and employers organizations concerning the daily limit of work over a longer period of time, may be given the force of regulations if the Government to which the agreement shall be submitted, so desires. But the average number of hours worked per week over the number of weeks covered by any such agreement, shall not exceed forty-eight. This exception would cover the situation on our Canadian railways where it is necessary for men to work longer than eight hours a day and where in some weeks they may exceed forty-eight hours per week, provided that in the total period covered by the agreement the average does not exceed forty-eight hours per week.

(7) Regulations shall be made public authority determining:

(a) The permanent exceptions which may be made where the work is preparatory, complementary or intermittent in its character.

(b) The temporary exceptions that may be allowed, so that establishments may deal with exceptional cases of pressure of work. It was stated on behalf of the Committee which recommended the Convention to the Conference that this clause was intended to cover seasonal employments where, owing to the limited period of the year during which work could be carried on there is exceptional pressure of work during that period.

These regulations, however, must fix the maximum additional hours in each instance and the rate of pay for overtime shall not be less than one and a quarter times the regular rate.

Each member that ratifies this convention agrees to bring its provisions into operation not later than July 1, 1921. Any member which has ratified the Convention may denounce it after the expiry of ten years from the date upon which the Convention first came into force.

A consideration of the provisions of the Convention at once discloses the fact that large liberty of action is authorized to meet local conditions in different industries and the varying conditions in different countries.

In most of the countries represented at the Conference they already have an eight hours day and in many cases a forty-four hours week in important groups of industries and it is expressly provided in the Treaty of Peace that in no case shall any member be asked or required as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the Conference to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned. The far-reaching effect of the Convention is that it bring within its scope all industrial undertakings in all countries parties to the convention and limits the hours of work in such countries in accordance with the terms of the Convention.

As I have already explained the Peace Treaty required that special consideration should be given to countries where climatic conditions, imperfect development of industrial organizations or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different. One of the most important questions which the Conference was called upon to consider

was what countries were entitled to special treatment and in the case of such countries, which modification should be made in the provisions of the Convention. All the countries of Asia and the tropical countries on all continents claimed the right to consideration under the clause, and the Conference after full consideration, decided that they were entitled to such consideration.

In Japan they are working at the present time, in their industrial establishment, on the average about twelve hours a day and seven days in the week. The Committee which considered the position of these special countries reported in favour of limiting the hours of work in Japan as follows:

(a) The actual working hours of persons of fifteen years of age or over must not exceed fifty-seven in the week, except in the raw silk industry, where the limit may be sixty hours.

(b) The actual working hours of persons under fifteen years of age and of all miners of whatever age engaged in underground work, shall in no case exceed forty-eight in the week.

(c) A weekly rest period of twenty-four consecutive hours shall be allowed to all classes of workers.

The representatives of the Government of Japan present at the Conference undertook on behalf of the Japanese Government to accept this recommendation. The result is that Japan, instead of a twelve hours day and a seven day week will have practically a nine and a half hours day and a six day week. The Committee in reporting to the Conference expressed the hope that within five years Japan would waive this special treatment and accept the general provisions of the Convention.

All thoughtful students of world-wide industrial conditions cannot fail to recognize the great importance of the provisions of this Convention in reference to Japan. The workers on this continent have not very much to fear from the competition of their brothers who live to the North or South of the 49th parallel; but what many feel they have to fear is the competition of the millions in Asia as their industrial development proceeds and no one will question the great gain to Canada, the United States and Europe in the reduction of the hours of labour in Japan from seventy-two to fifty-seven a week, and in the granting of the weekly day of rest. But one should look upon the matter from a much broader standpoint; namely, that the greatest gain will be to Japan herself in the improvement in the social and industrial condition of millions of Japanese workers, male and female.

In the case of British India the principle of the sixty hours week was adopted for all workers, in industries at present covered by the Factory Act administered by the Government of India, in mines and in such branches of the railway work as shall be specified for this purpose by a competent authority, and further provisions limiting the hours of work in India are to be considered at a future meeting of the General Conference.

The provisions of the Convention do not apply to China, Persia and Siam, all represented at the conference; but provisions limiting the hours of work in these countries are to be considered at a future meeting of the General Conference.

In the case of Greece it is provided that the Convention shall not apply until July 1, 1923, for certain unhealthy industries, and until July 1, 1924 for others. In the case of Roumania the Convention shall not be brought into operation before July 1924.

The adoption of this Convention was considered the greatest achievement of the Conference. While at the outset there was a sharp division of opinion between the employers and workers' delegates yet after prolonged consideration common ground was reached and all delegates, save two employers, voted for Convention as recommended by the Committee. It was contended by some employers at the outset that the adoption of the eight hours day would seriously reduce production. This was stoutly denied by the workers who claimed that in eight hours the worker could and would do as much as in ten or more. If the Convention is carried into effect the responsibility will rest upon the worker to make good and maintain production which is so urgently needed.

In addition to this Convention the Conference also approved the following draft conventions:

1—Prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age; this Convention has been referred to as the Children's Charter.

2—Prohibiting the employment of women in industries at night; namely, for eleven consecutive hours, including those from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., except in certain processes where night work is essential to prevent certain loss.

3—Prohibiting the employment of young persons under eighteen in night work; namely, for eleven consecutive hours including those in night work from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. except in certain continuous processes such as steel, glass works, manufacture of paper, raw sugar and gold

mining reduction works.

4—Providing that no women shall be permitted to work for six weeks after child-birth and any woman shall have the right to leave her work on a medical certificate that confinement will probably take place within six weeks. In both cases she is to receive a maternity benefit sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child provided by the State or by a system of insurance.

5—Making provision to guard against unavoidable unemployment.

The Conference also passed certain important recommendations for submission to the members of the International Labour Organization for action as provided in the Treaty of Peace but time will not permit a reference to them.

May I say with reference to the great majority of the Conventions and Recommendations, that all the delegates from Canada whether representing the Government, the employers or the workers were agreed as to their wisdom and joined in their support and with few exceptions these Conventions and Recommendations were approved with practical unanimity by the Conference on the record vote.

There are extremists on the side of Capital who would repudiate the International Labor Organization and all that was done at the Washington Conference. There are extremists on the side of Labour who would take exactly the same position, but the man is blind who cannot see that the world is facing to-day new and grave problems on the wise solution of which depends the security of the State and the preservation of civilization. There are those in every land who challenge the very foundations not only of industry but of society itself. They preach a class war and appeal to the worker to secure for himself a new and better day, by the overthrow of existing forms of Government, by the destruction of Capital, and by placing all the powers of Government in the hands of a single class.

Every citizen who recognizes the slow and painful process by which our humanity has reached its present stage of development and the necessity for the preservation of constituted authority and of the reign of law, must combat these sinister movements with all possible energy. But I venture the opinion that the best method of combating these movements is not to assume a hostile attitude to the legitimate demands of labour; is not to oppose a class war by the claim for class domination, but to recognize that existing institutions can only be maintained and progress can only be secured by the genuine

and whole-hearted co-operation of all classes for the common good. The real friends of law and order and constituted authority are those who join with the legitimate leaders of labour in an honest effort to rectify the wrongs of the past and to secure as speedily as possible the establishment of social justice.

In this critical time a grave responsibility rests not only upon Governments, but upon employers and employees alike to co-operate for the public good, to increase production, to encourage thrift and to develop a sound, sane, national patriotism which, while always seeking to conserve the nations' interest, will recognize its obligation to other nations to co-operate in improving industrial conditions and in maintaining the peace of the world.

The Conference marked a new era in International relations and its decisions when carried into effect should result in a great betterment in the condition of the workers the world over.

Forty nations participated in its deliberations, representing all the great races, except the Germanic, all the world religions, and all degrees of Industrial development. It was composed of legislators, Government experts on labour and industrial problems, representatives of capital and labour,—leaders in industry and the chief spokesmen of the new hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses in almost every land. These men met face to face in a sincere endeavour to find common ground upon which progress could be made toward the establishment of that new and better social and industrial order which every man of vision instinctively feels must follow all the unselfish service and noble sacrifice of these war years. Man found that differences of race, of language, of religion and of class, largely disappeared in the recognition of the common bond of human brotherhood and in the practical effort to co-operate to improve the condition of the worker.

The Conference decided, with practical unanimity, that the child of the toiling mother should be better born; that the children of the workers should not be compelled to toil during the period when they should be at school, and that larger opportunities of education and recreation should be provided for them to fit them for life's responsibilities; that young people under the age of eighteen should not be permitted to work at night, but should have their nights free for sleep and for building up the strength needed for life's struggles; that women, too, should be freed from night work and from em-

ployment in unhealthy processes; that provision should be made to protect the worker against the haunting fear that unavoidable unemployment may prevent him from earning a livelihood and providing his wife and children with food and shelter; and that the hours of men's labour should be limited so that they might know what "home" means and might have leisure to spend a portion of each day in company with their wives and children;—in short, that the conditions of life should be humanized.

At this first great gathering of the family of Nations, Canada took her place as one of the nations of the British Commonwealth, as an equal of all other nations, and gave her voice and vote to promote the cause of social justice and universal peace. It is said in some quarters that on the question of the eight hour day and forty-eight hours week, Canada should have stood aside and let the great procession of the nations move on; that she should have held back until the United States had acted. I recognize and appreciate the importance of the participation of the United States both in the League of Nations and in the International Labour Organization, not only from the standpoint of Canada, but from the standpoint of world interests. But the representatives of Canada had signed the Treaty of Peace containing the Labour clauses and the declaration for the eight hours day or forty-eight hour week. The Parliament of Canada had unanimously approved the Treaty. There was only one honourable course for the Government of Canada and that was to declare its intention to carry out its obligations under the Treaty, both in letter and in spirit. Canada did not wait for the United States to enter the war before deciding on her course of action. The moment the conflict broke out she pledged her all for the cause of Liberty. Canada did not wait for the United States to approve the League of Nations or the terms of the Treaty of Peace; but knowing the urgent need for an early peace, so that Europe might be saved from collapse, the Parliament of Canada promptly approved the Treaty and accepted all its obligations. And Canada did not await the action of the United States in this great world movement for social justice. She took her place among the nations, as did her troops overseas, in the very front line. The United States followed us into the war. I cannot but believe that in time she will approve the League of Nations and enter the International Labour Organization. Canada has secured the moral leadership of this continent by the part she has taken in world events during the past five years. Let all our actions in the future be worthy the record of the past!

(December 27, 1919)

Canada and the League of Nations

BY COL. O. M. BIGGAR.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am afraid that the duties I performed as Judge Advocate-General are not duties to give me any qualifications to address this Club on the subject of "The League of Nations." The chief characteristic of that office, is its complete absence of any reference to the duties in the name of it. When I was the incumbent of it, I was neither a judge, nor an advocate, nor a General; and the little knowledge I picked up was in other capacities than those three.

My attendance, however, at the Peace Conference was particularly interesting from the point of view of the League of Nations; and I had the honor and also the privilege of attending there some of the meetings in Lord Robert Cecil's room in the hotel, at which the attitude of the British delegation towards the proposed provisions of the League were from day to day discussed. I confess that sometimes the chief business of those meetings, which were held at a quarter to ten in the morning, was the completion of Lord Robert Cecil's breakfast, but the other things that had to do with the League of Nations were very interesting.

It seems to me of the greatest importance that the relation of Canada to the League of Nations should be presented from as many different points of view as possible; and therefore I accepted, with a great deal of hesitation, your invitation, and what I want to say about the League of Nations is from my own point of view of the subject.

I do not propose to deal with its local aspects except in general terms. I rather propose to deal with its more general aspects; and indicate what, in my opinion, is the tremendous advance made in the proposal to establish it, and the tremendous advance which Canada must make in order to fulfill its share in it.

*Colonel Biggar was a member of the Canadian Party at the Versailles Conference on the Peace Treaty. He was former Judge Advocate General for Canada, and is now Chairman of the Air Board.

One of the things, particularly, that struck us was this; that if the Big Four, the four members of the Council of Four, had been withdrawn and four other individuals substituted for them; if somebody else than Lloyd George, somebody else instead of Wilson, and somebody else instead of Orlando and Clemenceau had been there, the character of the conversations in the Council of Four would have been, practically, exactly the same.

Each of those four did nothing more than focus and direct the opinion of the public which each of them represented; and, even if other individuals were substituted for them, the substitute would have equally represented that opinion as he understood it; and, probably, as it in fact was; and the accumulated result of their labors, the construction which would have been given to the decisions, and the character of the decisions arrived at, would have been exactly the same. I am quite convinced that the character of the work that is done by the League of Nations, the direction in which that organization moves, will be determined not so much by the character of the individuals who happen to be on the Council, but rather on the attitude of mind of the publics of those countries represented on the Council, and represented in the Assembly which will in turn give color to the discussions of the Council.

We refer to history, perhaps too often, as an account of political battles; some of them bloody, some of them legal; battles for Constitutional changes; and I remember that I thought, a great many years ago, that no question introduced into any organization ever gave rise to such bitterness as questions that involved alteration of the Constitution; and that was as true of a Literary Society in a University as in the larger spheres of Provincial, National, and other Governments.

History, it seems to me, as we have been told, is very largely a discussion of those conflicts that went on in each community looking for changes in the mode of administration; and also conflicts between each community and the communities with which it is brought in contact. We began history with conflicts between two or more communities on the Tigris and the Euphrates, with conflicts between tribes on the Nile which are lost in the mist of early history; and we soon find Egypt and Mesopotamia coming into conflict; again we find Persia fighting with Mesopotamia; and then Persia and Greece coming into conflict; finally we have Rome pressing forward on all sides and finding that the only way she can secure the kind of

order of freedom which she thought it necessary for her citizens to enjoy was by bringing the whole of the then world under her domination.

In modern Europe the same thing is practically true; history becomes a series of accounts of successive wars between the different European communities, the last of which, we hope, is only recently over.

Now, those wars, I am convinced, did not arise because it is in the nature of man to make war; because I never heard of any community that wanted to make war. Those wars must have been due to the desire of the citizens of some community to secure a larger freedom; not only to enjoy individual freedom within the States of which they were members, but to extend that freedom in other areas. They wanted freedom of movement; and the gradual accumulation of causes of dissatisfaction in one community against another has finally led to war, not because it was desirable in itself, but because something for the greater welfare of the individual was at stake.

We may say that even the last war was, to some extent at least, a desire for freedom; a desire, not for the freedom of the world, but for the freedom of some individuals in the world who thought they were being unduly restricted in the pursuit of their individual aims. That gave rise to the war quite as much as any militarism. One of Germany's own statesmen said that War was the end of Policy—not Policy itself, but the end of Policy,—and it is this desire for individual freedom which from day to day leads, finally, not individuals, but communities, to war.

Now, in the time that preceded the war which has changed the face of the world, more in the latter part of that time, we had developed a machinery for international communication, the character of which was the appointment by each of a number of sovereign States of Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, who were delegated by each State to attend at the Capitol of the other State and keep their own country informed of the situation in that other State and act as a channel of communication between their Government and the one to which they were accredited.

One can see at once what an extraordinarily unsatisfactory method that was for securing results that interested more than the two countries concerned. The whole system was based on the idea that no more than two countries were interested in a particular problem at a given time. If three, or any other number, were interested, it obviously required the erection of

machinery for the purpose of reaching any satisfactory conclusion. There was no group at any single place in the world which had power to discuss or deal with problems of any general character affecting more than two countries.

The Ambassador from Germany, we will say, in Paris, had no duty in relation with the Ambassador from England; his only duty was to act as a channel of communication between the German and French Governments. It was the same with every other Capitol.

Some people do not realize, in spite of the enormous difficulties that were involved; how far we had got, before the war, along the road of smoothing and clearing away the difficulties common to all civilized nations. L. S. Wood has written an exceedingly interesting book in which he not only indicates the distance we had traveled before the war; but also indicated what immediate steps were necessary—what immediate further steps were necessary—and he gives an account of nine different International Conventions, each of which had a central International organization with duties more or less circumscribed. He also gives an account, I think, of ten International Conventions which assimilated the laws of different countries on the particular object with which the Conventions dealt. For instance, it is clear that it was not for any particular interest that we got into the International Postal Union or agreed to carry out the arrangements arrived at by the International meeting of that Union.

It would be a distinct loss of liberty to us as Canadians if there were countries not members of the International Postal Union; it would be a distinct loss of liberty to us as Canadians if there were areas in the world with which there was no arrangement for the mutual delivery of letters.

Exactly the same thing is true with regard to the Telegraphic Convention, which dates from somewhere about 1870. More recently, we had the Radio-Telegraphic Convention, which was obviously necessary; because if the ether was filled with all kinds of wandering waves we should not be able to use our own Radio Stations because we would be interfered with by stray waves from other places not included in the International Convention.

We had a number of Conventions of that kind which provided for the free exercise of the rights of individuals throughout the world and which increased the individual liberty of Canadians by reason of making it possible, either to do freely something in our own country which they could not do without an international convention, or which allowed them rights in other countries.

Now, in the course of the discussions at the Peace Conference, two other agreements of exactly the same kind came into existence, and many others were under discussion; but the two coming into existence were the International Labor Convention, which provided for an International Labor Organization; and also an International Air Convention to regulate air navigation, which again provided for an International Air Council or Commission to regulate air traffic throughout the world.

It is for things of that character quite as much as anything else that the League of Nations came into existence. It is primarily, of course, associated in the minds of most people with the prevention of war; partly because it arose out of the war, and also partly because war is an interference with liberty and happiness all over the civilized world, and is the most urgent, the most pressing source of misfortune that we can imagine.

The League will primarily deal with the adjustment of much less pressing and obvious difficulties, with the elimination of the causes of friction, before they get into the realm of war; and deal with them in such a way as not only to prevent war but also to increase the liberty and freedom of action of individuals all over the world, by the assimilation of rights in those matters which require international recognition, and which will anticipate the possible ways in which friction that might give rise to war might develop.

It is true that, out of the Articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, a large number are concerned with the machinery for preventing war. The reason is obvious; it is because that is the thing which must be provided for now. You cannot go into an organization without knowing how it will operate; we must have machinery which operates from time to time with regard to those particular rights which it is necessary from time to time to deal with.

Before I go on to the actual provisions of the Covenant of the League on that subject, I would like to refer to two things which make the proposal of the League of Nations, as we now have it, a thing completely different from anything we ever had before. Really, the great Democracies, under the old system, the old international machinery, were a sort of anomaly. The system of ambassadors—the only system we had—was a machinery which grew out of the idea of a sovereign personally exercising power; the ambassador was his delegate, and it was the voice of his sovereign which he was

making heard in the Capital to which he was accredited.

The ambassador was applied to the Democracies, but he was applied by a sort of stretch of the imagination; he was not there to express the ideas of the Democracy which he represented, but he was there as the direct personal representative of the head, for the time being, of that Democracy.

We had, at the beginning of the war, only two of the old Autocratic Governments that had really continued in existence up to the beginning of the war; and those two autocratic governments have disappeared, and the League to-day consists of an association of Democracies, differing in some respects from our own, not in principle, but in degree.

Even we have not reached the complete form of Democracy. Only part of one whole sex has been enfranchised; we still have a long way to go towards the enfranchisement of all adults in Canada; but the end with regard to that is in sight, and it will not be long when, throughout the world as included in the League of Nations, every adult person capable of intelligent thought will have a share in and responsibility for the conduct of government in that particular area in which he happens to live.

Another great change has come on account of the war; and that is, that the position of Canada has completely altered. You will hear a good deal about some of the slighting references to the change in status of Canada during the war and as a result of the Peace. I do not think that any slighting reference to that change is sound, and I think it is very dangerous, because it does incline us to think that we have not a responsibility which we certainly have; our situation has completely changed as a result of the war and peace.

Before the war, Canada was not an international person at all. No foreign Government had any interest in what the Canadian Government might do. The only way Canada had an opportunity to express herself was through the Government at Westminster. The Canadian Government at Ottawa had no official relations with any of the Governments of the world.

That situation has completely altered and Canada has been recognized as an independent unit—I don't mean independent in a political sense, but as a unit having an international individuality of her own which must be considered in international arrangements. She has, in a word, been admitted as a member of the family of nations; and has assumed a responsibility to the other nations of the world, a responsibility which

she cannot now lay down, a responsibility I don't suppose anybody in Canada desires, or thinks, should be laid down.

That situation involves an understanding by Canada that the interest of her citizens is no longer limited to municipal, or provincial, or Canadian, affairs; but it now extends to International affairs; and it is consequently the duty as well as the privilege of Canada to take part in, and act with regard to, matters that concern the civilized world; and her duty and privilege in that is not a duty and privilege which she has exercised in any ideal sense or in a sense of self-abnegation, it is a duty and privilege to be exercised for her own benefit. Canada has to trade with the world. Canadians as individuals are interested in the world being made a place wherein we can communicate freely and trade all over freely; where the rule of law and freedom of movement is guaranteed, not only to some particular individuals or groups, but to the world at large. Canadians have a direct and poignant interest in International affairs.

There are a lot of people who have said that the League of Nations is a visionary thing; that it springs from idealism and will be lost in the clouds of idealism. I cannot conceive its not being a matter of interest to Canadians. As Canadians, we have to be able to communicate freely with anybody in the whole world; and any machinery which looks as if it would secure that desirable end is a machinery which it is the duty of Canadians to support.

I don't know whether we don't forget that the world has really changed in a hundred years; that it is only a hundred years ago since we had our first steamboats and first railways; and in that hundred years we not only have got the electric telegraph, the telephone, not only railways and steamboats,—but we have actually in operation Wireless Telegraphy and, to be in operation soon, Wireless Telephony. Marconi said that we would be able to telephone to London for twenty-five cents a minute before long, and think of the further development which will follow the perfection of air navigation.

All those things have brought the world together in a way which was not possible for the men of a hundred years ago to even conceive, and they have given us mutual interests with the people of the other side of the world. I don't think it is putting it too strongly if one says that we have, a great many of us, a great deal of difficulty in realizing that the world has shrunk perhaps to a hundredth part of the size it was to our grandfathers.

It is not long since I talked to an old man in Paris who said that as a student he came to Paris part of the way by road, and then his chaise was hoisted on a railway, and then on by road again, finishing his journey on the road. We hardly think that it is only in the course of one single life-time that those enormous changes in facilities for communication have developed; and they are changes which made the world really different from the world it was for—what shall I say?—millions of years before the beginning of the last century.

It is, I think, a question of the advance of the freedom of individuals which we have before us in the League of Nations, and a question of purely practical things.

I will refer you to one clause which seems to carry hope for the future in it. The preamble of the League is very short. It is this: "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." The promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of international peace. This is the twenty-third clause: "Subject to, and in accordance with, the provisions of the International Conventions existing, or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will:

(a) Endeavor to secure and ensure fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations.

(b) Undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control.

(c) Entrust the League with world supervision over the traffic in women and children, traffic in opium, etc., and dangerous trades.

(d) Entrust the League with the general supervision of trade in arms and munitions with countries where this is necessary.

(e) Make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members.

(f) Endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Altogether apart from the prevention of war, that is an international program of enormous breadth and interest. I see no reason why, in these days of rapid communication, we should not take steps towards the formation of an international organization which will attempt to achieve those ends.

I have heard it suggested that sometimes a municipal government does not succeed. The opinion is frequently expressed in Canada that the Canadian Government does not always achieve its ends; but the fact that an international government may fail is no excuse for refusing to give it an opportunity to succeed. We here who have our allegiance and our loyalty to our municipality, to our Province, and to our Country, can have no very great intellectual difficulty in conceiving a readiness to serve an international organization devoted to action only in an international sphere; and which may have a great effect on the world, now so much smaller than it used to be.

(January 12, 1920.)

The Forward Movement

BY BISHOP FARTHING.*

Mr. President and gentlemen;—It is a very great privilege for me to be asked to speak to you, the members of the Canadian Club, upon the Forward Movement; and, like all great privileges, it has a very serious responsibility. I want you first of all to look out upon what I think is one of the most unique sights we have seen in Canada or on this continent in our life time, and that is that both in the United States and here in Canada all the religious communions except the Roman are engaged in a Forward Movement. They are not calling it a Forward Movement in the United States. They are calling it a World or Nation-Wide Campaign. But they are bringing it up as a Forward Movement; and all these movements are going on simultaneously, they are not one following the other. They are simultaneous, and I think it shows the universal sense of need on the part of all the members of the different religious communions at the present time.

It is not a movement for church union, exactly. That has not been brought to the front at all, because to have a movement for church union would mean more or less controversy, and controversy is the last thing we want to have just now. What I think we do need is to create an atmosphere in which the spirit of unity may grow. There are many things to accomplish, perhaps, before we can actually unite the Christians in this land; but I am quite sure of this, that we could all do a great deal to create an atmosphere in which the spirit of unity can grow. But any influence that is to be permanent (and who wants an influence that is not permanent?) must be upon the solid basis of truth and of liberty.

So in Canada, therefore, we have seen these different movements spring up simultaneously, independently one of the other. The Presbyterians, in their General Assembly in 1918, decided to organize a forward movement in their

*Bishop Farthing is the Anglican Bishop of Montreal, and is nationally known as a speaker of unusual talent.

communion, and then the Methodists had their General Conference and decided to do the same. But we Anglicans, in September when our General Synod met, were then undecided; in fact, as far as we knew there was no movement in that direction, and we simply asked the General Synod to allow us to appeal for half a million dollars for the Indian and Esquimaux work. It was our laymen who said we must make this a general thing; and our laymen in the General Synod determined that there must be a movement in the church to strengthen all the work of the church, and not simply the work among the Indians and Esquimaux. They appointed a committee of laymen to coöperate with our executive of the Mission Board and we organized our Anglican Forward Movement.

Then, after these three bodies had organized their Forward Movements, or were in the process of organization, the Presbyterian representatives came to us and asked that we should coöperate with them in the movement; and the result of that overture on their part was that there was formed a National Campaign Committee, and the Duke of Devonshire, His Excellency the Governor-General, is the patron of that committee. The Honorary President is Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister, and the chairman of the Committee is Mr. G. H. Wood, of Toronto. So we have in our Canadian organization a National Campaign Committee; and we have, after a good many meetings, decided to coöperate by carrying on the movement simultaneously in our communities. Since the formation of that committee the Congregationalists and Baptists have come in, and we have decided to coöperate in the provincial conventions which have been held throughout the Dominion. Also, we have coöperated in matters of publicity of a general character. Of course, we could not coöperate in all cases. Our methods are different. The systems under which our various organizations are carried on are different, and the literature suitable for Presbyterians would not be suitable for us and the rest; it would not be sufficiently explanatory. But there is a great deal of literature which is in common; so we are, as far as possible, coöperating in the expense of publicity.

We are also coöperating in dealing with special conventions, wherever it is thought desirable, and in coöperation I think we have all found that it has been most beneficial to the general movement. Certainly, it has been very beneficial

to have the campaigns going on at the same time. It has created a spirit of interest; it is in the atmosphere, and everybody is more or less talking about it, and in that general interest that has been aroused people are not only talking about it in one community but in all; and this fire of enthusiasm, we hope, will spread and grow warmer as the time goes on. And then, the objectives which we have are wonderfully similar.

I have before me the financial budgets of the different communions, which have been very kindly supplied to me by the Central Committee, and I have gone over them carefully. I think we can define them in four sections.

There is, first of all, the administration that has to be strengthened in our communions. The Baptists ask for transportation expenses. The Methodists ask for a special fund for current revenue of a quarter of a million. The Presbyterians ask for money to meet sundry needs of \$210,000. The Anglicans ask for General Synod expenses of \$150,000. So that first, therefore, we all are asking to strengthen our administration work.

And then there is the second, the educational, work. All, I think, are asking that in some way or other, to a greater or less extent, the educational work should be strengthened. The Baptists have their College fund for \$50,000, and they are asking also for literature in Sunday School work. The Methodists have an educational and college debt, and ask for three-quarters of a million. And the Presbyterians ask, for Colleges, half a million: and for the Sunday School Association, \$40,000. The Anglicans ask for their Board of Religious Education the sum of \$50,000. So that education of the young, the training of the young, and also, in some of the communions, the training of men for the ministry, forms a part of their effort to strengthen that department of their work in this Forward Movement.

The third great division in which all are interested is the Missionary work. The Baptists ask for \$170,000 for their Foreign Missions; the Congregationalists \$50,000; the Methodists \$1,500,000; the Presbyterians, for their Home Mission, \$1,700,000, and for Foreign Missions, \$800,000,—or, two and a half millions for Missionary work. The Anglicans ask \$550,000 for Home Missions, and \$340,000 for Foreign Missions, making \$890,000 for missionary work.

In the fourth division are the pension funds. It is no use having workers unless you can provide for them, and

everybody knows that the missionary workers of our land and the clergy of our land are unable to provide pensions for themselves on the stipends which most of them receive; and so, the communions are strengthening their pension funds. The Congregationalists ask \$50,000; the Methodists \$1,500,000; the Presbyterians, \$750,000; and we Anglicans, \$750,000, for pension funds.

And then we Anglicans are asking for \$600,000 for our different diocesan work. I don't know just what page that would fit in.

The totals are; Baptists, \$700,000; Congregationalists, \$100,000; Methodists, \$4,000,000; Presbyterians, \$4,000,000; Anglicans, \$2,500,000. A total of \$11,300,000 is being asked for by these various communions to strengthen the different departments of work which I have endeavored to summarize.

Now, Mr. President, I have got the financial budget off my chest, if I may use that phrase. I wanted to bring it before you to show you the character of the budget which we are appealing upon and to show that the objectives in all the communions are very much the same thing. And it is a fact that we are making this appeal independently from each other communion. There was no arrangement that they would make an appeal. It was an entirely separate and independent action on the part of all. It shows a great conception of the need of the hour in facing the conditions which confront us in Canada to-day.

I do not think that any serious minded man can look out upon our country, and much less upon the world at large, without feeling a grave anxiety as to the future. There is a sort of optimism that is foolishness. I do not think we have any need to be pessimists, but I do think even the wisest optimist feels the anxiety as he faces the future.

I want to recall for a moment the ideals of the war. We must look back if we are to understand the outlook as we are looking into the future. The war was a war of ideals and not of interests. How often we heard that during the time of war! Now, before the war we were all professedly followers of Christ; and yet an American business man said before the war that our commercial ethics were Pagan. I do not know whether he brought a true indictment or not, but that is what he said. And you know we too often have followed Pagan ideals. There is no doubt whatever that our ideals were far below what they should have been, as Christian men, at least,

Christ's ideals were regarded before the war, and we are perfectly honest when we say it, as rather impracticable. You could not put them into force in commerce and diplomacy. Why, one of my earliest recollections was when I was a boy in the old land, and some of my father's friends were sitting around and talking about the late war of France and Germany; and, speaking about the terrible, frightful things of the war and of the war that was bound to come some time or other, I remember them distinctly coming to the conclusion that it was absolutely impossible to put the principles of Christ into practical effect in diplomatic relations between the nations.

Well, I don't know as to that. Certainly they were not put into effect. We see nations so often looking upon diplomacy as a game, a game by which they might be able to get something for themselves. And you saw how Austria in the game pulled in the pawns of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the nations looked on and gasped rather as they saw the pawns fall. But it was diplomacy. It was not right, but it was the power of might, and material force; and no one was in a position to say her no. Right had no element in it. You know that Henry Watterson has said that a diplomatist was a good man sent abroad to tell lies for the benefit of the State. It is hardly a just estimate of our diplomatists. But another has said that a diplomatist was a man whose business it was to utter false coin.

At any rate, those estimates show we had no very high ideal of relations between nation and nation. There is a modicum of truth in it, but I think we are proud of the action of our diplomatist in Berlin, when they tried to get him to consent to "pull off" the war and not go into it. You remember how our Ambassador replied, "England cannot consider it for a moment; her honor is at stake." And you know how we felt, as we went into that war, about Germany's ideal that might was right and that no nation had any claim to right which it could not uphold by material force. That was the ideal that we were up against, the low ideal of the world. And you know how, when that was stripped of its horror and we saw it that day as it was photographed before us in that conversation with the Chancellor of Germany and our own ambassador, then we saw the horrible thing as it was. The whole nation rose up and said that the ideal of materialism, force being the determination of that which is right, is utterly abhorrent; and we must stand for the right because it is right, at any cost. It was then that the nation found its soul.

And we feel now that in the present time we fought for the ideal, we stood for it, and men have been compelled to carry it out. You remember the portrayal of the two ideals,—the cross of Christ at the wayside, the bowed head sacrificed for right; and against it there stands the German Emperor, embodiment of World Power, armed as a Field Marshal, with the force of material power behind him—the two ideals. We had no thought or no hesitation during the war as to which ideal we were ready to stand and fight for.

Now, Christ's ideals have been vindicated during the war. If there is one thing that has come through the whole war, it has been the ideals of Jesus Christ. The principles of Jesus Christ have been vindicated,—that right is to be upheld and sacrificed for because it is right; and the right is to be given to the weak, not because they are able to demand it by force, but because it is right that they should have it. Justice to every man! Right for every man! Those were the ideals upon which we appealed to the youth of the country. Those were the ideals to which the youth of the country responded, and I think it was one of the most inspiring things to see our young men rushing to the colors—voluntarily, thank God, most of them—ready to sacrifice themselves, to endure for those ideals of Christ, which statesmen and politicians and publicists and newspaper men of all kinds have been saying were the ideals for which we were standing and contending. It was not merely the clergy who said it. All men said it.

Now, we are facing conditions. The war is over, thank God! It seems to me that we are just up to this: are we going to be a nation of humbugs and hypocrites, shirkers in the days of peace after having won the war by the mercy of God? Are we going back to the same Pagan ethics of pre-war days? I want to put that right up to us at the present time. That is what we are up against, if I may use the phrase. Here, in our own Dominion of Canada, we are up against it because it is the thing of all others that we have to face. You say there is not much danger of it. Well, I am not so sure about it. A man, a personal acquaintance of mine and a great friend, whom I implicitly trust—when I tell you Mr. Chairman, that he is a clergyman and a good Presbyterian you will agree with me that I have every reason to trust him—told me that one of the Christian philanthropists whose name he gave me (but I am not going to give it to you) in discussing a matter

he had in hand and was very keen about, said this before him and some others, "We are going to get it. We have got the money, and we have got the political pull, too." I see no difference between the devilishness of a statement like that and the Kaiser who said, "We will bring Europe under subjection because we have got the material power to do it."

I don't care a bit whether the power behind your objective is money or armaments. The principle is the same; and, therefore, I feel that we have got to fight this condition, and the only power that stands for the righteousness and spirit and ideals of Christ is the church of Christ in this land. Remove the Church of Christ, and all its weakness; and, I venture to say, you remove the witness for those ideals for which we fought and for which we won. Therefore, the church of this land, bearing the ideals of right and justice and liberty, is appealing to be strengthened to go forward and witness for Christ, and to do the work of Christ in this land. If she does not do it, it seems to me that we are drifting on the rocks of disaster; and that disaster may be just as great in the future through following the same Pagan ethics, as it was in the past, leading into the Great War.

Now, when I speak of the church I am not speaking of the ministry exclusively, I am speaking of the laymen. I think the greater portion of the church are laymen; the members of the church baptized into the church are members of it just as much as I am. I happened to be an officer of the church, but I conceive no difference between myself as a member, and the most humble laymen baptized into it. When I speak of the church, I mean the whole body of men and women and children who compose its membership. I venture to say, that what we must have if we are going to avoid disaster is a brotherhood, a brotherhood not of interest.

You have got your various organizations of fraternity, so called: trades councils, trade unions, manufacturers' association, farmers' organizations,—of which you know something in Ontario. You have your organizations for benevolent purposes; and you hear men say, "He is my brother, he belongs to my lodge." you are limiting brotherhood to the boundary of your organization, to the boundary of your lodge and its members. I belong to some orders, as I suppose most of you do, but I do not think because I happen to belong to an order that my interest in humanity or my brotherhood is limited to that order. It is not a brotherhood of interest that

we want in Canada. That will never solve the problems of our class contentions one with the other. What we must have in Canada is a brotherhood of life. We must have a brotherhood of life because we all share the same life of Jesus Christ; and because we have all got the same spirit of God in us, it is a brotherhood of life which is going to join class to class, farmer to manufacturer, all to realize that they are just one of a great brotherhood of common life, and not bound together simply by common interest.

And where will you find that brotherhood, except in the church? I know the church has not shown it as it should. But whose fault is that? Yours and mine! No one else's! Do not let us sit back and say the church has failed to do this or that and the other thing. Let us say, rather, "I am a member of the church. Why has it not been done? It is my work to see that it is done, because I am a member of the church." And you have no right to blame others until you have done the utmost yourselves. We have to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us.

Why should not that principle be carried out in business life? The other ideal is "Do the other man before he does you." Christ's conception applies to business and to politics; even to the heat of a campaign it applies. And then let every man look not only upon his own needs but upon the needs of others. We want to get a broad vision. We cannot look out upon the world and say, "What can I get out of the world?" That is a popular conception. We look out upon this old world with classes lined up to seek their own interests. And we should say, "How are we going to serve the people? What can we do for them and give to them to bring them back to a realization of the oneness of their life in Christ?"

Now, there is the ideal! Are we going to bring that ideal for which we fought into operation in Canada? We fought for it! Our men have died for it, many of them. All of them have endured for it, and some of them are suffering for it even to-day. Are we going back or are we going forward? Are we going to be true to the ideals for which these men's bodies are lying in the fields of Flanders or not?

Now turn to that great unrest, and we see that seething unrest before us and the church. That is not union with Christ, not the life of Christ in the world, not the ideals of Christ, not the spirit of Christ. The church must go forward

as one great body with its Head—with that great Head, even Christ—and the whole body must just go forward as one, with one spirit, with one purpose, with the great ideal of Christ ever before us and in us, and burning in our hearts with the holy enthusiasm that we are going to bring the Kingdom of the World under the reign and sway of Jesus Christ.

The diplomatists of the nations must no longer play as I have depicted. He must have the spirit of Christ shown among the nations of the world. We must bring the kingdom of commerce under the sway of Jesus Christ, we must bring Him to the stock exchange, to the cattle exchange, and every other exchange.

In politics,—why do we smile when we talk of political life? Why should it be corrupt? It is the grandest sphere of service a man can know, and I think a man who corrupts the public life of a country is doing the greatest public wrong imaginable. I cannot conceive of a greater traitor than the man who corrupts the administration of a country. We want to bring the kingdom of political life under the sway of Jesus Christ, and our social life; and we want, not to make the vital choice of the Jews of old—not this Man of Bethlehem—but we will have Christ living and reigning over the Dominion of Canada, not only in the Church on Sunday, but in the lives of the members of the church throughout the whole of the week and every week of their lives. That is the ideal.

It is a big task. It is a tremendous task, when you look at the forces arraigned against that choice right in this land and in other lands. When you look at Russia! I have not time to tell you the things I have been reading of Russia. I suppose you have been reading of Russia, too. When you think of all the suffering, and when you look around in Canada and see the same forces at work here and there, secretly, when you see the self-interest of the large corporations at work, and when you see how they are entrenched and how it seems so absolutely impotent when we try to face evils of our public life—well, it is a big task. But it was a big task to tackle the Central powers; and, by God's help and the sacrifice of the manhood and womanhood of the country, we did it. We face this greater task, the higher ideal of making this country the country that shall carry out in all its details the principles and the ideals of Christ, and we say we are going at that task with the same spirit and the same determination with which we went at the task of downing

the ideal that might was right; and we are going to down it in Canada now, by the grace of God!

So, I want you to think with me that while it is a big task it is not too big for Christ, and it is not too big for us men if we are true to Him. I feel that what we need is to be, as an American Bishop has said—our American friends do say such apt things—we want one hundred per cent Christians, not adulterations of ten per cent Christians. And I feel that that is just what we want. The Christianity in most of us is adulterated fifty per cent, or more. We want the genuine article—one hundred per cent true to Christ Himself.

We want money, but money won't save the world. I do not think a rich church is necessarily a powerful church. I do not think if you gave us millions and millions of money that you would necessarily make the church strong. Money, by itself, may prove a curse to the church. I hope I will not bring the organizers down on me, but it might be a curse to the church. My Presbyterian brethren will not misunderstand me if I quote from a Presbyterian minister whom I met on the train not long ago, "We tried to raise a million dollar fund; we got the money, and we got nothing else," he said. What we are trying to do in this campaign is to get at the lives of the people first, and let the money follow. Now, that is what I feel we want. We want the lives of the men and women of the country if we are going to win in this task of making Canada a Christian nation. And money won't save, but Christ will; and we must have you and all the members of the church if we are going to reach the wrongs of the land, if we are going to do justice in the land. We want you to realize that the responsibility rests upon each member of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Now, just let me say in conclusion that, big as the task is, it is quite within the possibilities of the church of Christ in this land, if the church is true to him. I look back and, as we are told in Revelations, there was chaos, the spirit of God ruling over the chaos. Gradually there came out of the chaos, in the great step of evolution, great order and beauty, which we see in this wonderful-world of ours to-day. We look out over the great chaos of unrest and discontent threatening destruction in our land to-day, and the same spirit and the same God is ruling over the hearts and lives of men; and that same spirit can work out and bring order out of the unrest and disorder, bring peace out of

the war between class and class, and can bring our people, men and women, to work together in the spirit of Christ to bring those principles of Christ into the relation of everyday life.

And that is the purpose of our Forward Movement? I want you, like the wise old men of old, for I trust you are wise men, to judge what I say. Like those wise men—who came from the far east led by the star and when they saw Christ they rejoiced with exceeding great joy, they fell down and they worshipped Him and submitted themselves to Him in absolute submission. Then they opened their treasures; they presented Him with the best they had. And so I ask for your lives, your services. Then, when you have given them to the Christ, and to your country, open your treasures; whatever they may be, and give the best that is in you.

(January 19, 1920.)

"Gladstone and Disraeli"

PROFESSOR HUTTON.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Just a word of apology to the returned men who have come here altogether under false pretences, to see Colonel Purney, and who must be bitterly disappointed. I can only say that other people besides the returned men suffer when anything like this happens; and the speaker suffers, probably, most of all.

Now, what do Canadian business men care about two English statesmen a pretty long time ago defunct? I think, in my notice of things, I have noticed that business men do not care much for any statesman; certainly, academic people do not, least of all when those statesmen belong to a comparatively distant past. Thus, I think the ordinary business man says about those statesmen what one of the two statesmen—the witty one—said about protection, "They are not only dead, but damned."

Yet, as an Englishman, and a middle-class Englishman, brought up in that middle-class atmosphere in which a very large number of people used to worship Mr. Gladstone and idolize him, and think very poorly indeed of Mr. Disraeli; as such an Englishman myself, I am very much interested in those two men; and, also, from the many associations and memories connected with the politics of those two men; and also, last of all, on account of the very curious circumstances which attach themselves to Mr. Disraeli's popularity. Perhaps most people are interested in the men because they are absolutely opposite types; and the study of opposite types is always interesting, not to say enchanting.

The English middle class, I say, was brought up to idolize Mr. Gladstone. I think it was a very good thing for us to have somebody to idolize, but it was a very bad thing for Mr. Gladstone. Of course it turned his head. In later life all

*As Principal of University College and as one of the best of Canadian after-dinner speakers, Professor Hutton is well known. His good nature led him to step into the breach on this occasion when the Speaker of the day, Colonel Purney of the G.W.V.A., was suddenly taken ill.

sorts of flattery was poured upon him and his family. A certain relative of mine, a kind-hearted man, on meeting Mrs. Gladstone said, "I feel, Mrs. Gladstone, now that I have met Mr. Gladstone, that I will gladly say my *nunc dimittis*." And the old lady (she was an estimable old lady, but not especially educated) said, "Mr. Blank is such a dear old gentleman. He says that now since he has met Mr. Gladstone he is willing to say his *dunc nimittis*." Well, that was the sort of atmosphere in which many of us were brought up. And then there comes that other point, the very piquant circumstances attaching to the other man's personality, Disraeli's.

Now most Englishmen, I think, do not care about Jews. Frankly, I have a prejudice myself against them. And yet here was a man who certainly was a Jew in origin beyond any doubt—his name of course gave him away—whatever he was after about ten or twelve years of age. Here was a man who was certainly a Jew by origin and yet became extremely popular; and, frankly, I say, as I get older, looms larger and larger as compared with Mr. Gladstone in my mind. I know he was a Jew and I am not sure that he was ever a very convinced Christian. There was a story told of him at school which is rather good and characteristic. He was a child of 15 attending a private school, and the Anglican church they attended was a long way off; and by the time they got back dinner was cold, so Disraeli said that it might be as well if they all became Unitarians "for the duration of the term." Now, that is characteristic enough of the man. And it doesn't prove he was a Jew, you say? But it doesn't suggest he took things very seriously. And that is another reason why I find him very attractive.

Now why does he attract so much? I suppose if I say that I am attracted to Lord Beaconsfield because he was not a humbug, many of you would shout, "That is just what he was, the man was a humbug, an unmitigated humbug. Why, once he went to the country in an election with the platform of merely this, 'I appeal to the sublime instincts of an ancient people.' Now, that strikes me as magnificent humbug." I know that. I know that he was an unmitigated humbug, but the point is I like the man because he was so frankly and avowedly and confessedly a humbug. There was really no humbug about his humbug. He frankly said politics was humbug and he was a humbug in politics.

Gladstone was not a humbug of the open kind. He was a humbug of the dangerous kind who imposes first of all on him-

self; and, as his friends said, could make his friends believe almost everything he wanted them to believe, and could make himself believe absolutely everything he wanted to believe. He was a man, I would judge, who never meditated on that text, "We deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." That appears to me to be the real difference between the two men, the one was a confirmed, an avowed,—and honest, therefore,—humbug; and the other was one of those hypocrites who deceive even themselves. Why, he took advantage of the scandal about Parnell's private life when it came before the public, he took advantage of those scandals and took advantage of the honest dissenters' consciences, which were aroused; although he knew perfectly, he must have known, perfectly well all the time he was dealing with Parnell, that the scandals were so, although they had not been published. Very mean, I think you will agree, and very political in the worst sense.

One other illustration. The Conservative Government was making war in South Africa when he was in Opposition. He took that unscrupulous view that the only duty of an Opposition is to oppose, so he announced himself as against the war. He came into power, and then you heard no more against the war, and the war went on. But then came the battle of Majuba, and the British were defeated, and it became awkward and difficult to continue the war, and then he dropped the war. And, worst of all, when he dropped the war he said he dropped it out of magnanimity. Now, that seems to me to be humbug—"magnanimity!" He dropped the war, of course, out of prudence. "Magnanimity," he called it. Magnanimity is a private virtue, and any statesman who dispenses it at the expense of his country is giving away what is not his to give. You can make allowances for the change in his view point, and his giving up the war after defeat; but to turn a corner and call it "magnanimity," gentlemen, is the merest humbug, and all the worse because it deceived the principal himself.

Now, that is the kind of contrast I find between the two men. I do not think that there is anything beyond those two things, perhaps, which I could select and bring before you to illustrate what I mean; but I think those two things are sufficient to make you understand what I mean when I say one of these men was more dangerous than a frank humbug; he deceived even himself; worst of all, after those victories of political intrigue and political sleight of hand and political dexterity, the old man would come home and write magazine articles on "The Sense of Sin." Now, gentlemen, that is too

bad, it is rather terrible. His sense of sin should have been much more conspicuous in his political career than in magazine articles.

Now, the other man was unscrupulous; but he did not talk about "The Sense of Sin." He never spoke about it. He was a cynic, but I suppose cynicism means a sense of sin. That is the feeling, gentlemen, I have. I hope I am not very unnecessarily squeamish, but I have the feeling that it is too bad when a very astute statesman, who has been successful in some astute tricks of statesmanship, writes about "The Sense of Sin."

Now, there is a second difference between the two men which appeals to me, but of course there is no comparison whatever here. Lord Beaconsfield has every advantage, and the other man is terribly at a loss. Lord Beaconsfield gloated over his humbug, revelled in it, enjoyed it,—from a sense of humor. He was a humorous humbug and a humorous cynic. Take the following magnificent story: he was talking to the most venerable of ladies and making of her august body an experiment of the depth and length and breadth of human vanity. And he said to her, according to the story, something like this, "O madam, as I grow old and the world falls away from me I find that only three books interest me, only three books can I read—the Bible, Shakespeare, and your 'Journey in the Highlands!'" Now, gentlemen, that is delicious. It was an experiment in humor and an experiment in flattery. When speaking to the ordinary man he administered flattery (he said) with a spoon; when speaking to royalty, with a ladle.

But whoever heard of humor in Gladstone? Why, the same venerable lady has objected to Gladstone's lack of humor in words which, whether they were consciously humorous from her lips or unconsciously humorous, at any rate deserve to be recorded for their humor. "Mr. Gladstone," she complained, "always talks to me as if I were a public meeting." Now, gentlemen, what can be worse, his using not the flow of intimate conversation between friend and friend, the bonhomme and kindness of conversation and reply; but, even when talking to a poor old lady, to create the stilted, artificial, conventional atmosphere of a public meeting, or of a Canadian Club. Who can forgive Mr. Gladstone for such a method of talking to a queen, and who can wonder that the queen preferred the old Jew with all his gross flattery to this man who talked at her as if she were a public meeting.

There is another famous story to illustrate his lack of humor.

There was a dinner at the Royal Academy, and Lord Beaconsfield was there and had to make a speech. Before the dinner was over, talking to those around him, including the poet Browning, he said, "What strikes me is the poverty of imagination in the paintings." He got up later and made his speech and said, "What struck me most was the quality of imagination in the paintings." Browning was very much surprised, and Browning went afterwards and said, "I do not understand you, sir. You told us that the imagination was lacking, and then you told us of the wealth of imagination displayed. Lord Beaconsfield replied, "Ah, Mr. Browning, you poets are so literal!"

And that is not the end of the story. Then, according to the story, there was a breakfast party; and this story was told by Browning in the presence of Mr. Gladstone, as indicating Mr. Disraeli's wit and unscrupulousness. Browning laughed very heartily. Gladstone said, "You call that amusing? I call it devilish."

Then there is another point. I like Disraeli because he was fond, like a good Conservative, of puncturing the fashionable bubbles of the day. He found people rebelling against the creeds and the thirty-nine articles. Dean Stanley was saying at a table, sitting next to Disraeli, that he had suffered forty stripes save one, and he went on to discourse on the monstrosity of creeds and conventions, and so on. And the old man said slowly, four words. It seemed to settle the whole case, "No dogma," he said, "no Dean."

Take another case. The people were beginning in those days (they have said it a great deal since) to disbelieve in the personality of the devil. "There is no argument," said Lord Beaconsfield, "against the personality of the devil which does not apply with equal force to the personality of God."

And another people were beginning in those days—they have done it a great deal more since—to talk Darwinism. "The question," said Lord Beaconsfield, "is, is man an ape or an angel? I am on the side of the angels." How can you put it better? His philosophy told him that this was a case where you must take sides and his instinct told him to take the right side. Some people call it flippancy; I call it philosophy.

I like the old Jew's personal character. Carlyle said that a man's religion was the chief thing about him. Well, I should say that the next thing about him is his domestic life. Now, I like what I read of Disraeli's domestic life. He seems to have made his wife something of a cynic. Or perhaps she

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made him a cynic. But she passed a judgment which is worth quoting. Gentlemen of the Canadian Club, if I were to say to you to-day now, that the verdict of posterity and history was going to be pronounced on each one of us in this room in two minutes; and that it was the verdict of each man's wife, what a scare there would be in this room! How we should shrivel and shrink away; a little while and we should be all under the table or out of the door. But this is the astonishing verdict which Mrs. Disraeli pronounced upon her husband—so cynical about husbands in general, but so magnificent a testimony to her own particular husband. "Oh," she said, "Dizzy is so kind; he is more like a friend than a husband." My fellow husbands, take that to heart.

Now do not misunderstand me. I do not mean for a moment that Gladstone was not a kind husband. Do not believe any of those silly stories of his private life which we used to hear in England from stupid people. Fools always tell lies like that about prominent men; and there is not a word of truth in them in this case—not a word, pure rank nonsense. I don't mean he was not kind, only I don't think there was any tribute paid to him quite so beautiful as that which was paid by Mrs. Disraeli. The only thing I have heard of Mrs. Gladstone having to say of him, in his old age at any rate, was not quite flattering. She used to say before dinner, I am told, "Don't contradict Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone must not be contradicted." The old gentleman had got to that condition from the idolatry of the middle classes that he could not bear to be contradicted even at his own table, where the rest of us are contradicted daily; and some of us are contradicted gayly.

There is still another point in the difference of these two types in their attitude towards Ireland. Disraeli was a thinker, a dreamer, and student of philosophy, a very silent man who used to spend hours without opening his lips. But, with all that, he was a man familiar with life broadly, familiar with the insoluble problems of the world, and with the insoluble problem of all insoluble problems of life itself; and so he said little or nothing about this insoluble problem of Ireland, I take it, just because it was too insoluble. There was a time when Sir Robert Peel proposed to make a grant to Maynooth College for bettering the lot of the students. It was not at all a luxurious place to live in; very much the opposite; and he made a grant to help the situation. Lord Beaconsfield said, "The Honorable Gentleman is convulsing the nation and threat-

ening society, in order that the students at Maynooth may sleep three in a bed instead of four."

Now, look on the other hand on Mr. Gladstone. He had worked for thirty years conscientiously, generously, liberally, to benefit Ireland; and little good had resulted; and continual disorder had followed. And then, suddenly, he threw all the results of the past to the wind and threw up the sponge. Because he had not been able in thirty years to alter the results of centuries of trouble and anarchy, the old man became discouraged and threw it up; because he had not been able in one generation to reconcile the most logical, self-conscious, self-centered, contentious, critical, censorious, and singular people on the face of the earth. He gave way to a set of politicians who represented the spirit of compromise, the compromise of people like our own, who love compromise, hate logic and are quite illogical; a compromise born of the British character, offered to a race who are nothing if not logical and uncompromising. What could you hope from that compromise of a Home Rule which surrenders what the Unionists want, unity, and yet does not give what the logical Irishman wants, nationality? What can you hope from a half-way British-model compromise like that offered to a logical people? And yet, he threw up the work of a lifetime to offer that British compromise to people who did not want compromise and had no compromise in their blood.

That seems to me to be the difference between those two types. I do not think he ever seems to have realized that thirty years is nothing in the life of a nation, that you could not hope to alter the results of a nation's past in thirty years. But he did hope it. He surrendered to those Nationalists, who did not seem even then to be whole-hearted in their enthusiasm for compromise, and who did not represent their people. And to-day we have a lot of loose talk about the analogy between Canada and Ireland, and Australia and Ireland, and South Africa and Ireland, all that loose talk about analogies which is the very curse of politics because it is so loose. Where is the analogy between Canada and Ireland? This is a separate country, held to the Empire by sentiment and sentiment alone. And Australia equally, though divided by geography, is bonded by sentiment—and the same with South Africa in a less degree.

But in Ireland it is exactly the opposite. There is a country with no sentiment for England, for Scotland—only bitter hostility; and yet, which geography has united with the Mother

country. How can men talk as if there were any analogy between Canada, or Australia, or South Africa, and Ireland—when they see those unfortunate two islands, Great Britain and Ireland, so close together that they must go together, yet so incompatible that they cannot. And all this time, mark you, I am not saying anything about Ulster in Ireland, about the point of Ireland not being one country at all, but two.

There is another point which interests me rather. Nothing is more certain than that the strength of the Liberal party has been in domestic politics, and the weakness of the Conservative Party has been in domestic politics. The strength of the Conservative Party has always been in foreign politics because it was led by men who have been diplomatists and who understand foreign politics. The whole strength of the Conservative Party has been that it knew foreign politics; and the whole weakness of the Liberal Party has been that it did not. And, as a great Greek orator said, "You cannot expect Democracy to succeed in foreign politics." In spite of that rule, I think Mr. Gladstone did better than Lord Beaconsfield sometimes in foreign politics,—in spite of Majuba and South Africa. He took an attitude towards the Turks which we can sympathize with. We all thought with Lord Salisbury that Beaconsfield made a mistake in Berlin, that he was humbugged there, that he had been twisted around Bismarck's fingers, and that he put his money on the wrong horse.

I go on to note that Mr. Gladstone read and wrote tedious books, books which nobody need read; and from the good books he read, he did not find anything to support his arguments. And he studied tedious questions which had no mortal interest or importance to this world. The other man was a real thinker. The other man lives still in what he wrote and said,—in masterpieces of literature. He had a real imagination, a sense of words, and sense of literature; and I think we can pardon much in a statesman who can give us literature.

Gladstone never gave anyone literature. Not a word, not a sentence, will be quoted twenty years hence. Disraeli was human, and the other man only popular. It has been said of Gladstone by a good judge, Bagehot, that he had a second-class mind with first-class energy. I take it that that is a good definition. He had a second-class mind which moved about in an atmosphere second-class, derived from second-class of history, an atmosphere made up of sixteenth century Catholicism. His magazine articles may still be very popular on all sorts of subjects which appeal to the half-educated or

to the uneducated man, to people who have not had time to keep up with the age. Those things may be still very popular with the mass of people long after they have ceased to give or interpret the spirit of the age. And that is what happened, I think.

But I think "the old Jew" was interested in every subject which interests, in all ages, the human mind. I think his interests were as big as the thoughts which inspired his ancestor Job away back in Asia Minor. I think his interests were just as large and far-reaching as the interests which will interest the new-born child to-day when he has attained a little more manhood. I think that the old man was interested in every human speculation, whilst the other man was interested in the popular cries and catch words and cat calls of the day. There is a vast gulf between the popular and the human. Popular thoughts are thoughts about things which are transient; but human thought is about things which are eternal, about the problems which are the same yesterday and to-day and forever, which continue while the sun and moon endure, the problems over which old age still lingers, and to which the unborn child will still be turning twenty years hence.

(January 28, 1920.)

The World's Economic Situation

BY SIR GEORGE PAISH.*

Mr. Chairman,—It gives me very great pleasure to be here again in Toronto. It gives me very great pleasure to be here in Toronto and to look back over the last five years, and to remember how you men of Canada came to our help and helped us to get out of the most dangerous situation which we in Europe have ever been in.

I have come to you again to-day when Europe is in the condition of danger which those of us who understand know is quite as great as was the danger during the war. During the war, we were fighting militarism, a powerful military power who made her plans to destroy us,—and especially to destroy England and the British Empire. To-day, we are fighting an economic danger which, unless it is overcome, will entail Europe in anarchy and in chaos. Indeed, unless it is overcome, we on the other side will not be able to get the things we need in order to get us a living. I am sure that you men of Canada will do all that is in your power to render us that measure of assistance that you gave us during the war, and help us to overcome the consequences of the war.

Now, what is the situation? The whole economic organization of the world has been thrown out of gear by this war. To-day, the nations have to buy from other nations vast amounts of goods, vast amounts of produce,—for which they have little or no means of making payment. And, on the other hand, they are selling, to other nations who require their goods, vast amounts of goods, for which they cannot obtain payment. That is the condition of the Mother Country. Great Britain to-day is paying her way. She has paid her way all through the war; and, during the war, our difficulties have come not from financing our own requirements but from financing the requirements of our friends, the other members of the Entente. During the war Great Britain has provided other Entente nations and the Dominions with goods to the

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extent of nearly ten billions of dollars. And it was in arranging for that credit that we had to create credits abroad. The same situation is true to-day.

If you look at Great Britain's foreign trade you will see that for the past year our imports exceeded our exports by about £650,000,000 or £700,000,000. The whole of that was covered by the income from our foreign investments, of which we still own the greater portion, the greater part of what we held prior to the war. It has come from the great earnings of our ships and from other services; and all through the war our imports have been covered by our exports, and we have not had to run into debt on our own account.

At the present time, the British exchange is falling because we need to buy immense quantities of food and raw material, and even manufactured goods, from certain countries which generally require our goods in payment; and we are having to sell our manufactured goods to other countries which have no means of paying us. In 1919, Great Britain sold goods and rendered services to the continent to the extent of about £600,000,000; and the continent was able to pay us only about £200,000,000. On the other hand, we have had to buy from America, according to our own figures, to the value of about £560,000,000; and we have been able to sell back to America our own goods to the value of not more than £30,000,000. That leaves uncovered imports to the extent of about £500,000,000. Of that, roughly speaking, perhaps £300,000,000 would be due to us.

But, even when every possible allowance is made, we have had to buy from America something like £400,000,000 of produce more than we could pay for by exports or by shipping services. In the past year we have been helped, and Europe has been helped, to buy American goods by reason of the credit furnished by the American Government. While the war went on, as you remember, America took care of the exchanges as far as this continent was concerned. In a little over two years America enabled the Entente nations to buy nearly \$10,000,000,000 worth of produce which they needed. In the past year America's favorable trade balance with Europe has been no less than four and a half billion dollars. America has sold to Europe five and a quarter billions worth of produce and has taken back only three-quarters of a billion. So that four and a half billions has had to be financed.

Rather more than half the exchange necessary was provided by the American Government by sales of Liberty Bonds. It

is no longer possible for the American Government to issue Liberty Bonds for such a purpose. The result is that that method of financing our needs is gone. Since American loans have stopped, we have been financing our requirements in part by sales of securities and in part by bankers' credits. But the bankers of America have now loaned as much as they ought to loan, or as much as they are able to loan. The reserves in the Federal Reserve Bank have gone down nearly to minimum; in fact, sometimes below the minimum, so that that sort of exchange has gone.

Now we are up against the situation, where Europe needs to buy a very large part of her food and raw materials from this side and we don't see how we are going to pay it. We would be quite able to pay if you would buy our securities; but we can't pay in produce, because, for one thing, you don't want our produce; and the kind of securities we can offer to America are not the kind the American investor is accustomed to. Therefore, some method has got to be devised to enable us to buy the produce of all the world and to pay for them in securities that the world will take.

This problem is not one that affects England alone. It affects every country. Even you in Canada are suffering from exactly the same thing that we are suffering from. You are selling to us and buying largely from America. As we have difficulty in paying you, or even if we did pay you in securities that you will take,—we selling back to you some of the securities that we bought from you before,—you may have difficulty in selling those securities in America, to whom you are in debt. And so your exchange with America is falling at the same time that our exchange with you is falling in a greater measure.

The same is true of America. America has got the enormous trade balance of some \$4,000,000,000, and yet can't find the exchange to pay for the goods that America is buying from India, China, and South America.

Where does that bring us? It means this, that unless some method is found for putting the credit of some great organization behind it, it will break. You can't finance hundreds of millions of dollars of exports in the way that they're now being financed. It isn't possible. You can't finance them by financing loans. Bankers' credit is not suited for the purpose. A banker ought to make a loan only in so far as it can be easily liquidated. A banker should give a revolving credit which automatically liquidates itself. Otherwise, there would

not be that surplus. We in England have had a surplus in our favor, I suppose, for 150 years, if not for 200. Throughout the whole of that period, we have taken payment for our surplus in permanent securities. We never ask a country to pay, in fact, we are delighted if it doesn't pay. And over that long period of years we built up an investment account in colonial and foreign countries to the extent of \$20,000,000,000.

That is the situation. This situation demands that the other countries of the world should realize that they must take payment for their services in investment securities, not in bankers' credits. And some security must be created that will satisfy everyone's needs, some security so strong that every nation will take it. The world will get to the point of realizing the need for such a security. Of course, it is obvious that we in Europe should pay in any kind of security that we can. We are prepared to do that, and you can get almost any kind of security that you want. But, it is essential that you should realize that you must buy securities if you are to be paid for your produce.

Let us look at the need. Our friends on the other side of the boundary say to us; and, I think, rightly, "you must show us that you are doing all that is possible to meet the situation before we render any help." Of course, I would like to say right here that we are doing that and we are not asking for philanthropy; we are asking for business. We are asking America to do what we have been doing for 200 or 300 years. We are asking America to take payment in the very best securities that the world can produce, and it is because the American investor hasn't yet learned the value of international securities that we have to create some special security that he will take. I haven't any doubt that in another fifty years the American investor will understand international securities.

But clearly, when a nation is in course of growth, as America is and as you in Canada are, you need to invest in your own securities in normal times. You have got these great countries to build up. It is essential that they should be built up. It is essential that you will use your money for the building up of your own countries; but in abnormal times such as these you must be prepared to do the things that necessity demands; and such, for the time being, demands that you will reconstruct Europe. Unless you do so, your own progress will be stopped. You cannot jump from the old condition into a new condition in the way that I think America is trying to. It isn't possible. America's prosperity will wane and disap-

pear for many years unless she comes to the help of Europe at the present time.

The danger is so great, that we may at any time have a complete breakdown unless things are done to prevent that. The reason I came over was that I appreciated that a breakdown seemed to be very near, and that there was no time for delay. There was no time to delay in trying to inform people as to what the situation really was.

That is the situation now. We are faced in Europe with a need to buy produce, as much produce, as much raw material, as much manufactured goods, as we did in the past year; and that is the position in 1920. But we cannot see how we are going to pay for them, because you—I don't say you, because I think you do understand; if you will buy back your own securities for any wheat or produce that you send us—but because the other nations are not prepared to buy back securities; and unless we can induce them to do so, well, then, it is obvious that we shall not get the food, the raw materials, or the manufactured goods, that we need. That means, of course, that American exports will disappear, that she will keep her wheat, she will keep her cotton; and her mills that are now engaged for export will close down; that America will have many millions of unemployed; while we in Europe, who need her produce and goods, will be suffering from starvation and anarchy.

Gentlemen, in such a situation as this you will realize that something needs to be done. You will understand that I am not exaggerating if you will only look at the exchanges and the way that they are falling. I hope you will understand the vast amount of money that is needed to finance Europe at this time. Let me explain a little more clearly how it comes that Europe's needs are so great, how it is we need to buy so much from you and other countries at the present time.

Before the war, Europe altogether bought in grain about 1,000,000,000 bushels from outside countries; about 400,000,000 bushels of this came from Russia. With the closing of the Dardenelles, the shipment of this grain was greatly hindered. How long we shall be without grain from Russia no one can tell. You have to remember that that 400,000,000 bushels of Russian grain is short, and that increases the demand for grain from the rest of the world.

The war has destroyed a very large number of our men in Europe and has wounded a great many more, and the food production of Europe has gone down nearly forty per cent.

Before the war, we needed to buy from outside countries about twenty per cent. of our foodstuffs. We, in England, needed to buy nearly two-thirds. With the reduction of production, we need to buy so much more. Of course, we can be more economical; and if you could see the people in many of the places you would appreciate how far the economy has already gone. It can't go much farther without bringing that condition of starvation which will entail consequences which one doesn't care to contemplate.

Now, if we can induce the world to look at this matter as it should be looked at, if we can induce the world to take those co-operative measures that are essential; all these difficulties can be overcome. The present situation demands the spirit of co-operation and of fellowship; and if we co-operate to help those who are in need, not by giving them things, but by selling them things for securities, Europe will be able to pay England in the securities that will be created; and England would be able to pay America in the same securities; and America would be able to pay South America, or India, or Japan; and the business of the world would go on as it did before the war. The current of trade would be restored. The current of exchange would be restored.

How is that to be brought about? Under the Peace Treaty, an organization has been created to take care of world affairs. That organization is being created mainly to avoid war, but it has also been created in order to preserve civilization from danger, to promote co-operation. The League of Nations can take care of this situation. The League of Nations would have the power—that is, of course, if the members of the League were convinced of the necessity and voted the power—to create the credit which will enable every nation to satisfy its needs, and would enable every nation to receive the securities. Let me say here, however, that whatever loans are created are not for the purpose of carrying on Governments, not for the purpose of meeting the ordinary expenses of Governments, but for the purpose of reconstruction. Every dollar that is raised should be raised for the purpose of restoring the mills, the farms, and the factories, of the devastated areas, so that their produce shall appear at the earliest moment possible—so that Europe would be able to pay for the things that it desired and needed to buy, by the sale of its own goods or by the services that it rendered, just as soon as possible.

How long will this take? If you look over those devastated districts, you will see that it will take some time. You cannot

repair the mischief of so great a war, of so great a disaster, in a day. It will take several years; and it is clear that Europe will need to buy far more than it will be able to pay for for at least five years, possibly for ten. Therefore, in arranging any measure of credit we have to think of the whole thing. If we financed merely for the next two months, at the end of two months the position will be worse than it is now. If we arrange for the financing of the whole; why, then, we can carry the whole thing through successfully. And, therefore, it is desirable that the nations should realize that the work to be done is to reconstruct Europe so that Europe will have no difficulty in paying its way.

I don't propose to-day to speak on the question of finances, but I desire to say here that you mustn't regard the financial stability of Europe as in any way reflected by its condition to-day. You would not regard the earning power of some great building just destroyed by fire, or partly destroyed by fire, as in any way handicapped for the future when it was reconstructed. So, you must not regard European financial stability after it has just been devastated by war as the measure of its financial stability in the future.

I have no doubt that Europe in the days to come will be far stronger than she has ever been in the past. I have no doubt that Europe in the course of a few years will again be lending money to the world, as it has for so many years. The world needs that money. There is much to be done; and I am convinced that Europe, if you will help her to get straight, will be able to carry on the work that she has carried on in the past.

In conclusion, I would just say this: it seems to me that what the situation demands is the creation of a security that all the world will take, that will be almost as good as gold, in fact, in some degree better than gold; because bankers when they hold large amounts of gold find that their money is eating its head off, as it were. There is no income. If those bankers were holding considerable quantities of the finest security that the world could create, bearing interest; and those securities were saleable in the markets of the world freely and easily, why, those securities would be quite as good as if not better than, gold. Now, if we can induce, or if the peoples of the world will agree to the creation of a security based upon the credit, not only of one nation, but on the credit of every nation, so that we have the entire world behind the securities; why, then, it is obvious that such a security will be the finest that has

ever been created. If we make the interest on these securities free from all taxation in all countries, why, I haven't any doubt that we shall find vast numbers of buyers.

And so, in order to prevent a breakdown, we have to think out some plan, it may be this plan I have suggested to you, or some other plan, by which the nations for the time being will accept payment for things they sell, in so far as they don't take payment in other goods and cannot obtain payment in other goods, in securities which all the world recognizes to be good. I can't think that any security would be as good as a League of Nations Bond.

(February 3rd, 1920.)

Sir Harry Lauder

Gentlemen, you flatten me—I mean flatter me. I am delighted to be here this morning. What a sea of happy faces! I have just come from America where they are just the same; they are a happy bunch. We are all getting down into normal conditions gradually, slowly, and surely.

I remember meeting Douglas Haig on the Western Front just near to St. Leger on the way up to Boulecourt, and I said, "Give me a message to take home to the folk; I will be going back to London in two or three days." He said, "Tell them at home to have patience." Two nights afterwards I dined with him. We sat that night and scanned a big map that was in front of us, and he every now and again arose and put the point of his finger on all the different battalions. He said, "The Canadians are there, and the Australians are there"; and so he indicated the positions of other units also. In talking we came to the conclusion that it would not be good for us if we won the war too quickly. And it won't be good for us if we get over the war too quickly; we would forget too quickly the great sacrifices that have been made.

In passing through America from San Francisco I have been meeting all sorts and conditions of men and women; and everyone, in my opinion, is for the unity of the English-speaking peoples. Now, that is an expression from a personal observation of my own audiences. And, of course, as you know, I do not cater to the crowd that have come from Glasgow, or from Edinburgh, or even from Dalkeith, or Straven, or Larch Hall, or Rugland. I cater for the English-speaking peoples. Of course, if you don't understand me at times, look up the dictionary. We are the better for that little book lying beside us at times, because it gives us new ideas.

When coming through America I came through a State called Ohio—O-hi-o. I was in Cleveland one week, and there I came in contact with some friends who came to the entertainment one day; and after the entertainment we were all

*Unique in the line of Entertainers, Sir Harry Lauder has risen during the War to a new place in the Empire's heart through his services to the troops and for the sacrifices which he has made.

joking and talking with one another in the hotel. There was a bonnie lass in the party. She was a bonnie lass, I will admit it. And her intended was there, too. He was with the father and mother. You see he was not supposed to be with her at all, the villain! Just as you did yourself! And after my observation of the situation between the young couple I wrote a little love song. Of course, I may tell you I put myself in the young chap's shoes, as it were. And this is the outcome of my observation:

I have been very, very busy, packing up to go,
Away to see a certain bonnie lassie that I know.
I was not going to go at first, I was always hesitatin'
But then I had to go because my heart was palpitatin'.

I know a lassy out in Ohio.
She says she wants to see me, so I guess I'll have to go.
I haven't been very long away, but I want you to know
That I'm never, never, coming back from O-hi-o.

That is all you're going to get. You will get the rest when I come back to Toronto; and it will cost you something, too! I am looking around me to-day, and I am forced to express myself in these words: that this is a bonnie love atmosphere that we are in. You know when I was singing that love ditty the now—if you could only have seen your faces. "Oh! would some power the giftie gie us to see ourselves as ithers see us." Man, it is a fine thing—love. I was writing another love song. My wife says I am always writing about love. In fact sometimes I am disturbed in a melody at night when I am lying in my bed. I get an elbow and a "hauld your tongue!" I'll be lying there, you know, and I'll be whistling a wee tune through my teeth; quietly, unconsciously—and then I get the elbow.

"Love, love, love is a very funny thing.
It keeps the world busy all the while.
When a fellow's weary, the thing to make him cheery
Is the sunshine of a bonnie lassy's smile."

That is one of my very latest. That is only the shell of the nut; the kernel will cost you a couple of dollars. You know when I was asked to come here to-day I did not know really what I was going to talk about. Your president asked me what I was going to talk about. I said, "I am a rambler on the face of the earth; and when I talk I am going to ramble

also." It is my nature and I canna' help it.

I am just thinking now that it was the English-speaking people who played the supreme part in the Great War. We all know what France and Flanders did. We know the great sacrifice they made and we have an idea of the further sacrifice that would have been made had not the British taken their stand. Well, we saved them from being rushed into the sea. We played the supreme part. Now we are asked to play the supreme part in peace as well as in war. What are we doing? What have you started to do? What are you going to do? The eyes of the world to-day are in one direction, and that is, toward the English-speaking people. The world to-day is looking for an example, and they can only turn to the English-speaking people for that example.

There is only one example to be shown the world to-day, in my mind; and that is work. WORK; it is a wee word. Sometimes it is very hard, too; but, I tell you, it is a very good phrase. We are taught that we must earn our bread by the sweat of our brow, and there are millions of men to-day in the world who never oozed a drop of sweat in their lives. They are parasites, living on the work of their fellow men. I hate this kind of man. I like the man who works. I love to grip the hard, brawny hand of the man who works, because when he takes hold of your hand his grip is sincere. He earns his living by the sweat of his brow and he knows what it is to come in contact with work; and the man who knows what it is to come in contact with work knows what it is to come in contact with his fellow men, and with good fellow men too.

I have been working since I was eleven years of age. I will be fifty in August and I feel nineteen. I remember having a holiday once. It was the most miserable month I ever spent in my life. I could not sleep at night thinking of the day I was going to start my work again. Then I came to the conclusion there was no use of having a holiday when your holiday was worried through thinking about its going to stop. I have had a couple of weeks since then; and always, about the end of the week, I said, "when I start this time I am never going to stop again." But then we get tired, we get exhausted; and, man, a week's holiday does us good! It brightens your minds, eases your muscles and you go back to your work invigorated and you commence your labors with a new heart and a new idea. It is good for us to have just a little holiday, but not too much.

Of course, I know there are many men working in jobs to-day who don't care how long their holiday lasts. You know why, because they don't like the job they are in. They don't like the job they are in. They are only in that job for Saturday, and they don't give their best to the job, and they don't give the master the value of their week's wages. They are slacking and loafing half of the time. If I was ever in a job (and I have been in some when a boy) if I did not like the job I was away from there looking for a job that I liked, looking for a job that I loved. That is why I am in the job that I am in to-day—because I love to sing.

When I started to sing I was working in the mines. I was making about two pounds a week—\$10 a week—and I was asked to go out and sing at a little bit of a concert. Certainly I went out to sing. I used to pack up my little traps, go there, and sing seven, eight, nine, and ten songs a night. I was delighted to do it because I loved to sing. I had no idea I would ever get any money for singing!

After singing four or five years, a committee came into my house one night, a committee of two. Aye, they were deputed, they were deputed to come and see me and ask me to sing at the Shepherds' concert. "We will give you half a crown." So I got my half crown. And then, I remember, about two years after that some one came along and offered me five shillings for a concert. I said, "It is getting up now." And, after having sung for about seven or eight years, I got half a guinea,—ten shillings and six pence. When I got two engagements in a week on top of my week's wages, when I got two ten shillings and six pences, I tell you they were away to the bank. Oh, they were away to the bank and I'd never let on to myself that they were in the bank. After having sung for about fifteen years before the public I was getting twelve pounds ten shillings a week. It took about ten pounds a week to keep me, pay railway fares and all my other incidental expenses, so I was not making any money. But I'll tell you what I was doing, I was enjoying myself. I was in love with my work and I was as happy as a king.

I want you fellows to be the same. If you are in a job you don't like, get out of it and get something that you love. Never mind if you don't get the same amount of wages. If you are in this world for money, then let me tell you this; that it doesn't belong to you. All the money that you have doesn't belong to you. The house that you are living in doesn't belong

to you. The life that is in you doesn't belong to you. You have got to give that up one day. There is nothing that belongs to us. We are only in possession of it for the time being. We don't own anything. And yet we quarrel and argue and fight about it. It is no' worth it, men, it is no' worth it. If we will get together we will get to know one another better and we will get to love one another better, and I make bold to say that there is nothing in the world like love and affection. Well, concentrate on that. Concentrate on your work; and you will never be able to concentrate unless you love the work that you are at.

If you are only in it for money, you will find one day that your money has slipped away. Somebody will have taken it from you, and you will be bankrupt. What are you going to do then? You will be too old to look for a job that you like. Get into a job while you are young; and if you love that job and concentrate on that job, you will probably be where there are a lot of fellows who were like you in the last job. They didn't like the job. They didn't like the work. The consequence is that you will soar in a little while, you will soar away above them all. You will awaken one morning and find yourself manager or president or on the Board of Directors. That is how it is done, by concentration.

I have done nothing else but concentrate on what is best for my public, not for me. I am nothing. I am simply a mouth-piece: I am talking from the theatrical point of view. I have got to stay in the audience, I have to go to the gallery; and in my imagination I sit in the gallery and then the character comes on the stage, under my observation, and if I am not pleased with it then he has got to alter it to suit me. It is a long stretch of imagination, but that is how it is done—by concentration.

There are a lot of people to-day concentrated on a paring-down policy, paring down the hours of labor. Where the paring down policy is going to lead us men, I cannot say; because I am going to tell you this, that if a man only works half a day I am only going to pay him half a day's wages. Of course, I do not say what that amount should be for the half day, but if he is only going to work half a day I am only going to pay him half a day's wages. The ranks of the labor men to-day are very much agitated by soap-box agitators, men who refuse to do a day's work themselves and live from the labor of their fellow men. That is what they do. I have travelled

extensively in pursuit of my profession and I have never lost an opportunity just to have a walk around their domains now and again, and I have seen and heard these men standing spouting. I would not waste my time with them. I would not stand two minutes in front of them listening to them. I would want to get behind them and push, and I would not stop pushing until I had them pushed off altogether. I am pleased they are pushing them off in America. They are pushing them off in boatloads, and they have their minds thoroughly made up on the subject, I believe.

I fail to see why the slacker and the shirker should demand the same amount of wages for his labor as the man who puts all his energy and brains into his work. The man who puts all his energy and brains into his labor is deserving of a bigger reward for his wife and family and himself than the man who slacks and shirks. We want to learn that work is man's best friend, and not his enemy. "See ye a man diligent in his labors, he shall not stand before men, he shall stand before kings," and it is just as true to-day as it was the day that those words were written.

I'd like to ask any of you men who are very successful to-day if you ever limited your hours of labor? No, you did not. I was reading a paragraph from one of the American papers last week and I saw that one of the professors in one of the universities over there was talking about working sixteen and eighteen hours a day sometimes. Well, if a man has got to work that long with his brains, surely a man in good physical condition is able to work for ten hours, anyway. I think ten hours is a very good day's work, if you will work ten hours. But I am not going to pay you for ten hours if you are only going to work eight, and I am not going to pay you for eight if you are only going to work six. Half a day's wage for half a day's labor! That is fair enough, fair and square.

Now, we come to the part where, as I said before, we can all be of service to our country in peace times as well as in war. We have learned the art of efficiency during the war. We have learned the art of independence during the war. We have learned the art of sacrifice during the war. And if we are asked to practice these in peace times, let us do so. You know there have been many men during the war who have made lots of money. Now their idea, of course, is to have a good time for the future. I think if they would spend half

of that money trying to get things into normal conditions they would be more patriotic. Many men have got money to-day through the war, and they were very sorry when the armistice was signed. They were very sorry. They were sorry that the war was over. That is a bad feeling to have, is it not? It was money that bred that feeling—money! Of course, it is easy for a man who has got a lot of money to stand up at a meeting amongst poor working men and say, "Men, it is not a disgrace to be poor." But no man ought to be poor if he is diligent in his labor; and I think the time is coming around when the employer of labor is going to say to the worker, "Well, I will share so much of the profits." There is no mistake that in the past the employers have been making too big profits. Of course, many of them have spent it philanthropically. They have been of service to their communities, many of them. But then there are others, and it is the others I mean.

Well now, folks, I want to say that I don't know when I will be back in Canada again. I am on my way from Australia, where I found an atmosphere very British. I came across and came along by the great North West, Edmonton, Calgary, and right along over to Winnipeg; and there I found the atmosphere the same—Canadian, of course, but British; as I am Scotch, but also British. I was very glad when I arrived in Toronto last Sunday night. There is a feeling under the old flag, you know—it is fine! And here I will tell you a story about the British flag.

In crossing to Australia, an old sea captain was a passenger. He had the biggest sailing ship on the Pacific Sea, sailing on ahead of us, with his son captain on it. The *G. H. Sterling* is the name of the ship. And this old Captain Sterling was a fine old fellow, a fellow who had never had a drink of whiskey in his life. Aye, and he was seventy-two years of age, and his complexion was as clear as water. He was a nice old man. He and I got talking in the captain's cabin every night going across and he used to tell me a lot of old sea stories. And he told me this one:

"One night about fifty years ago, we came out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and we were not long out until one of my men came up to me and said that the so-and-so officer had forgotten to lock some certain cocks of something. We were carrying great logs and the water got in. A storm arose and they could not get down to close those doors. The water kept

pushing those big logs and knocked the ship all to pieces. There were nine of us on that ship, including my wife. We found ourselves, the nine of us, on the hatchway, and the ship had gone from under us. We ran all night in that sea. We dragged the hatchway windows out so that we could get clinging to them with our hands. It was in the month of November and it was cold. But in the early dawn of the morning the mate scanned across the waves and said to me, 'Captain, I can see a ship.' We prayed to God that day, but the ship did not come near us.

"Night came, and we were still clinging to the broken hatchway; and in the grey dawn of the next morning we had drifted almost beside the ship. Our support was small and the great waves just boomed us up and down, and the mate said to me, 'Captain, I don't think they see us.' I said, 'Yes, they see us and they are flying the British flag, and they will never go away until they get us.' And, by God, the ship stood by and did not move a yard until she rescued us. Two of the men had dropped off the raft mad in the extreme cold; but the ship carried a British flag and she stood there."

Men, when that old captain was telling me that story about the British flag—I was crossing to France, I was crossing to America, I was going back and forth on the Western Front, and I was squeezing through among the submarines; and I said, "I am safe as long as I see the British flag."

We ought to be proud of ourselves. Aye, and we are proud! When I will be back again, as I was going to say, I dinna ken. Some of you may in fact be coming over to Scotland before I get back here. If that should be the case come over to the west yonder near Loch Fyne and see me. You will just see my place out of the hill. Of course, don't all come at once! But if you do come it won't make any difference, because I have plenty of room yonder. Man, it is bonny! We will away o'er the hills; and there is heather on them, too. We will wander all day on the hills, and we will wander until the sun goes down. When the sun goes down we will all come back to the hoose in the gloaming. And then we'll have something to eat. And then, when we get something to eat, we'll all sit around the big fire and we will watch the flames licking up the lum and we will tell stories and we will crack jokes.

Then we will awa' to bed, but in the morning we will be up with the early morning sun and we will wander away up the glen yonder. Aye, we will gang far awa' up the burn, and I

ken a pool up the burn. It is a bonny pool, as clear as crystal, and we will have a drink there. Aye, will we, and it will no' do us any harm; it is bonny clear water. And, mon, when ye are down on your knees to have a drink, just before you touch the pool with your nose you can see your face in it. It is clear, it is bonny. Then when you have rippled the water with your nose it will get calm in a minute. It will get as clear, as calm, as glass. And then you can see the sky. You can see Heaven in it. It is a bonny place, the world! Aye, it is a bonny place. And it is up to you and me to keep it bonny. Thank you.

(February 9, 1920.)

Madame Pantazzi*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am very deeply sensible of the honor you have done me in inviting me to come here to-day; at the same time, I must confess that I am equally alarmed at the responsibility I have undertaken. My only claim to speak to you about Roumania lies in the fact that since I went out there ten years ago, as the wife of a Roumanian Naval Officer, I have had, perhaps, unique opportunities of studying the life and character of the Roumanians from the angle of Canada and the new world.

Roumanian history has, since its dawn, been one long, bitter story of struggle and oppression. A Latin Island in a sea of Slavs, isolated and dominated by the Turks during the Middle Ages, she clung to the traditions of her Roman origin. The Roumanian language to-day, in spite of the admixture of Slav and Turkish words, is even more closely allied to Latin than modern Italian. The sympathies of the people, their mentality and physique, are absolute proof of their Latin origin. They are distinctly different in every way from the Bulgarians, Russians, and Hungarians, by whom they are surrounded.

To illustrate something of the spirit which animated them, even in the Middle Ages, I should like to tell you the legend of one of their great Kings, Stefan. King Stefan reigned about the middle of the fifteenth century. After winning many victories, he was finally defeated by the Turks. He returned to his moated castle and to his mother, who had been its guardian and defender during his absence. When he approached the drawbridge he ordered the sentinel to lower it. His mother came to an upper window and demanded to know who was there.

"'Tis I, Stefan, your son—wounded, pursued by the enemy. Let me in."

"Impostor, how dare you claim to be my son! He is either dead or conqueror."

* Madame Pantazzi is a Canadian by birth and a member of a well known Toronto family. Her husband is a Roumanian Naval Officer, and it was while accompanying him on a Roumanian Government Mission that she had the experiences she so graphically relates.

Stefan returned to fight the Turks once more, and this time was victorious. Later, he united Greater Roumania, the Roumania of to-day, under his beneficent sway.

It was only sixty years ago that modern institutions were introduced into Roumania by her wise and enlightened King, Carol. He was elected Prince of the newly-united provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which formed, before the war, the Kingdom of Roumania. Roumania before the war had a population equal to that of Canada, between 7,500,000 and 8,000,000 people.

In 1914, when the war broke out, King Carol and his wife were placed in a very difficult position. They were Hohenzollerns; and, therefore, were, of course, deeply convinced that Germany would win the war. The attitude of Roumania was distinctly antagonistic to Germany. King Carol died a victim of the war as truly as if he had been slain on the field of battle.

The present King, Ferdinand, his nephew, is bound up entirely in the welfare of Roumania. His wife, Queen Marie, was heart and soul with the allies from the very first. Roumania finally entered on the side of the allies. She had chafed at the delay to show her sympathy with the great cause of France and Britain. Friends would say to me:

"We love France, we admire England; and we want to go into the war on the side of the Allies—but England is far, and France is far; we will be fighting side by side with the Russians. We do not trust them."

Their fears, alas, were only too well founded. By the treachery of Russia in neglecting to forward munitions and provisions sent us by the Allies, which had to come all the way from Archangel, the richest part of Roumania was delivered into the hands of the Germans. In spite of the heroic efforts of the Roumanians to defend their country, they were mowed down like grass before the long-range guns of the Germans. When I went to the hospitals to visit the officers wounded in the first engagements, I found them extremely depressed. They told me:

"It is not for our own wounds we grieve, but for the fact that when we led our soldiers into action, they said: 'Why are not our guns like theirs?'"

In one battle, after fighting for eleven days and eleven nights, the Roumanians were able to repulse the German troops; but this was when the army had been reorganized by French generals. After this battle, when the Red Cross went

out on the field of battle to hunt for wounded, they found numbers of Roumanian soldiers standing upright—though life had fled—supported by the piles of their dead comrades lying behind them.

The story of defeat, flight, cold, hunger, epidemics; you know that all too well. It was a terrible thing to see old men falling down in the main street of Jassy (after the evacuation of Bucharest) never to rise again; to see the dead piled in carriages to be hurried away and thrown into the common pit; to hear children whimpering from hunger and be unable to stretch out a helping hand. It was the real struggle of existence in all its bitterness.

Sometimes, since I have returned to Canada, I wonder if I really did see all the scenes that I remember. It seems to me that it can not be true, that it was all a fantastic, terrible dream.

In February, 1917, my husband was sent to Odessa, to try to organize the transport of the vitally necessary provisions and munitions from Southern Russia. I accompanied him with our family. We were intensely happy at the prospect of being able to relieve some of the terrible conditions in Jassy, but we did not know what the future held in store for us.

One week after our journey, the great Russian Revolution broke out. The first news was received in Odessa with incredulity. We were uncertain for about a week as to what had transpired. Finally, General Marx, who was extremely influential and head of the troops in Southern Russia, decided to throw in his lot with the revolutionaries; and I witnessed the first procession celebrating the new order of things. It was quite an orderly procession, such as might have been organized to welcome the Czar. Every soldier had a little bit of red somewhere about his person, either on his arm or on his breast or on the band of his hat. Thus they marched to the central square, where Marx made a speech and they cheered lustily for the revolution. All along the streets the crowds lined up. Odessa was decked with flags; the University students marched with the troops, singing patriotic songs. The first display of joy was really touching to witness. The citizens were like a lot of boys let out from school for a holiday.

Gradually, however, the mild spirit which prevailed, gave way to more violent change. The German spies, in their work among the Russian soldiers, were extremely skilful. They would say to those ignorant fellows:

"If you don't go home to your village, you will not get your share of the land when the re-division takes place."

The soldiers left their trenches by the hundreds by night, and tried to go on foot to their native villages, some of which were in the depths of Siberia. It would be as if a man started to walk from Toronto to Winnipeg. On the way, they were overtaken by hunger, and began to loot; thus the terrors of Revolution were upon us.

The Roumanian troops who were in closest contact with the Russians, especially those from the former Bulgarian provinces, began in their turn to be infected with Bolshevik doctrines. They deserted the Roumanian army, and came crowding into Odessa. Well supplied with money, they began a campaign among their wounded brethren in the hospitals, formed themselves into a Roumanian Legion of Death, and paraded the streets with the Russians. The processions took place about twice a week, with music and banners bearing blood and thunder and lightning devices. The Roumanians were conspicuous with their banner of red and yellow.

It was about this time that Kerensky visited Odessa. I saw him as he left the Opera House after addressing the soldiers. He was dressed in uniform. He was not a man with very conspicuous charm, except for his wonderful hypnotic eyes, absolutely shining with life—one might say almost abnormal. He was enthusiastically received. His speech was the first one in which the principle was laid down that, as all men were equal, the soldiers had no necessity to salute their officers or to treat them with any more respect than their comrades in the ranks. It was the first dyke down, and the beginning of the reign of terror.

Southern Russia was formerly known by the name of *Ukrainia*. The Ukrainians, or Little Russians, formed themselves into a party and tried to oppose the Bolsheviks. "Bolshevik" means big or great. We must differentiate between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The latter are willing to do things more slowly and in a more organized way. One could distinguish the Ukrainian soldiers by the color of the band worn on their left arms. They chose green, and therefore they had green bands; while the Bolsheviks wore red bands. I deeply suspect that the greater number of the soldiers had two badges, one in their pockets and the other on their arms.

In February, 1917, those two parties came to blows and fought desperately for three days for the possession of

Odessa. Our home at that time was in the principal street, so we had a front box for the opera. One heard desultory firing during the night, but at first we paid absolutely no attention to it. One morning, however, seeing a barricade of benches in front of our house and two business-like cannon planted in front of our door, we were convinced that a serious affair was afoot. A little reconnoitring showed us that the Reds were in possession in our neighborhood. Soon firing began, which lasted some hours. We saw a tank rushing about, Red Cross nurses came out of the hospitals and carried away the dead, and our house was scarred by hundreds of bullets.

The Ukrainians seemed to be getting the best of it, when the Reds had a brilliant inspiration. The sailors on board ship in the port pointed their heavy guns up the principal streets of Odessa and began firing. The first shot smashed our windows. They fell in with a terrible crash. Then we received visits from bands of sailors. These men came to see if we were concealing fire-arms. Of course, they failed to find any; but during the search they found numerous little souvenirs and pocketed them on leaving. We were too tactful, of course, to notice it.

From then on, it was a reign of terror in Odessa. Five thousand Russian officers were in hiding at that time, while five thousand extremists worked on the population. One of their first acts was to tie up the statue of Catherine the Great and to requisition the wine cellars. On account of the activities of the different military commissions, there were great quantities of material in deposits all along the railway line; and every night bands of Bolsheviki rode up to them and requisitioned everything that took their fancy.

That greatly alarmed the French General who had reorganized the Roumanian army. Those supplies were vital to the Roumanians and Allies. He counselled the Roumanians to send over sufficient armed forces to protect their deposits. The Russian Reds were greatly displeased at the efforts to protect the supplies; and soon fighting began at many points, the result of which was to arouse bitter feeling against our large, wealthy colony in Odessa. Several arrests were made in the hopes of terrorizing the Roumanian Government into abandoning the value of millions of roubles. The Roumanians arrested were glad to pay the ransom demanded, only to be re-arrested within twenty-four hours. No fortune, however great, would hold out long against that system. Finally, our

colony was completely isolated from the mother country; and we had no news from Roumania for two months.

Odessa being now entirely in the hands of the Reds, Lenin and Trotsky sent a man who is now in the Supreme Council of the Soviet, to take charge of the situation. This man, Racovski by name, in his youth had been very active in Socialistic enterprises, and on that account had been invited to quit Roumania. The Roumanians had lost sight of him during the years preceding the war, but he had been exceedingly active in the socialistic circles. Therefore, when we heard of his taking charge, we were extremely discouraged, fearing that personal spite might influence his orders.

The morning after his arrival, a soldier came to tell us that a number of our friends, including the vice-president of the Roumanian Senate and the president of the Chamber of Commerce, had been arrested in the night. The favorite time for arresting was between twelve and three a.m. Fifteen or twenty Bolsheviki, headed in many cases by women, armed with several hundred cartridges and one or two revolvers each, dragged from their houses the unfortunate victims and forced them to hurry off without, in some cases, making any proper toilet. They were put on board a ship of sinister reputation, "The Almas," where a great many Russian officers had been led to torture and death during the preceding months.

I insistently urged my husband to go to the house of a neutral friend, because he was suffering at the time from the effects of a slight operation and needed hospital attention each day. For three days afterwards our house was unmolested, although I was hourly expecting the inevitable visit. I was not disappointed. On the third day I heard a rapping on the door of the house with the butt of a gun. This was the signal for the approach of the Bolsheviki. Resistance, of course, was useless. I told the servant to open the door, and a dozen Bolsheviki entered. The leader told me he was delegated by the Soviet to search the house. They took all the papers they could lay their hands on. They were all dressed in British uniforms, the buttons of which had "Georgius Rex" on them; bandoliers around their waists containing at least two hundred and fifty cartridges—and, besides two revolvers, each of them had a large sized gun with bayonet fixed.

They finally departed, taking with them my husband's soldier servant. He had been with us for five years and I did not doubt the affection that he bore my husband, but I greatly feared he would be bribed or terrorized into revealing the hid-

ing place. After a few hours he returned. They had not tried to bribe him. He had protested his entire ignorance; and so earnestly professed adherence to Bolshevik ideals and doctrines, that they accepted his statements; and, thinking him a useful man, ordered him to go back and watch and let them know if he found out anything. He said he would. On the way out from being questioned, he was obliged to step over the dead body of a comrade who had been shot.

Our house was now entirely surrounded by sentries. We could not leave it for fear of being followed. My husband had been trying to get news for our flight to Jassy; but alas! we were like rats caught in a trap—before us was the Black Sea sown with thousands of unchartered mines; behind, on one side, the Germans were approaching; and on the other, the Russians and Roumanians fighting desperately.

Thinking patriotism could demand no more of him, my husband decided to offer himself as a volunteer hostage to Racovski. This action won for him the consideration of his enemies even; and had, for the moment, a beneficial effect on the general situation of the colony. Several women friends of mine, whose husbands were absent, were arrested.

Of course, such small details as giving prisoners anything to eat never occurred to their captors; and, therefore, there were efforts on the part of friends to carry them food. Any man who assisted in that way was immediately arrested and hurried away to prison, we knew not where. One friend never combed her hair for five days, because her jewels were hidden in its coils. Our efforts to conceal jewels and money taxed our ingenuity to the utmost. We sewed bank notes in the trimmings of our hats, buried rings in flower pots, and so forth. One friend had her jewels secreted in a ball of wool, a plaything for the kitten, while she calmly knitted; but \$4,000 she had hidden in the wood-pile disappeared. She had a big retinue of servants, and we often wondered which one saw the hiding place.

The contrast between the sublime and the ridiculous was often striking. One lady, whose automobile was requisitioned, protested that she was not a Russian.

"What does it matter? Was not Marie Antoinette's automobile requisitioned in the French Revolution?" was the ready answer.

One man with a little more backbone than the others, decided to resist. He told his wife that if anybody should try to steal from him he would be ready for him. He put a

revolver in his pocket. As he walked down the street one night a man brushed by him. Feeling in his pocket, he found that his watch had gone. He went after the passer-by, and pulling out his weapon, demanded his watch. The stranger gave it to him. He returned home to recount his story to his wife, who met him saying:

"My dear, you are late, but I am not surprised, because it is the first time I have ever known you to leave the house without your watch."

How can I describe to you the agony of the long month that passed after my husband's arrest? Banks were raided, merchants closed their shops with heavy iron shutters; and opened them as rarely as possible in order to get a little money to continue buying food in the market. Even with money it was difficult to get food, because the peasants no longer came in with supplies. In the evenings, all the families in our apartment-house huddled into the one room; where, with a candle for illumination, we discussed the situation far into the night, wondering what the morrow would bring forth.

One morning I was surprised by a visit from the American Consul.

"Do you know," he said, "there is a Canadian here?"

"What!" I exclaimed. "A Canadian here? Impossible! How did he get here?"

He said, "Oh! he dropped from the sky; he came in an aeroplane."

Of course I was filled with curiosity. He said, "If you want your questions answered, go and see him for yourself."

I hastened to where the Consul had said I would find him, and within a few minutes, found myself face to face with Colonel Boyle of Woodstock. I had never heard of Colonel Boyle before that day, but his appearance inspired me with the very greatest confidence. He had been in Jassy after remarkable and extraordinary adventures in Russia, when he heard of the plight of the Roumanian colony in Odessa and volunteered to try to assist us. The only way he could get to Odessa was in an aeroplane, because there was fighting going on along the line between the two cities. Colonel Boyle, though well over fifty, had never been in an aeroplane in his life; but of course a trifle like that would never bother a man like him.

He had flown across two lines of battle. The Roumanians and Russians both thought him an enemy and both had fired on him; but, luckily, did not touch him. He had been before

the Russian Soviet and made a treaty by which seventy-one hostages held in Odessa were to be exchanged for four hundred Bolshevik prisoners, whom the Roumanians had seized in Bessarabia. When I met him, he was completing the agreement.

He was, of course, intensely surprised to find a Canadian in Odessa; and when I told him of my situation he said:

"Go home and pack your things, and I will take you in the train."

I never received such a charming invitation in my life. I returned home and spent the entire night in preparations. The next morning my husband telephoned me from prison—you may think it curious, but that was one of the anomalies of the situation. As I said before, there are some very powerful arguments in Bolshevik Russia, and my husband had a number of those arguments secreted in the sole of his boot and was, therefore, able to telephone. He told me that the Roumanian "Battalion of Death," accompanied by an army of Russians, had come to the prison at four o'clock and had told the prisoners Colonel Boyle had come and was going to exchange them; but before doing this, they said:

"We want you to come with us. We want to restore your money and papers that you had when arrested."

Now, my husband has a very suspicious nature. He thought this unprecedented generosity of the Bolsheviks at such an early hour in the morning, had something very odd about it. He said he was prepared to stay where he was until Colonel Boyle came. He told me, of course, that his resistance would not be very long continued; and begged me to go and find Colonel Boyle.

Presently I saw a large automobile truck passing my windows. In it were a number of prisoners, and this truck was speeding in the opposite direction to the station; in fact, towards the port where a number of rebel ships lay ready to steam away should the Germans approach. On leaving the house I encountered at the door the Ukrainian Prison Commissioner. He said to me:

"The Bolsheviks have absolutely no intention of keeping their word with Colonel Boyle. They are trying to get the prisoners away."

Begging him to accompany me, we made rapidly to Colonel Boyle's residence; were fortunate enough to meet him in front of the Russian Soviet's meeting place. When he entered the building, he found it empty. Then we jumped into one of

the little Russian carriages. Colonel Boyle and myself, both being somewhat large, solid people, found it difficult travelling. He remarked, I remember: "Cabs in Toronto are more comfortable than this." I thought they were.

When we arrived at the port, we were not able to approach the ship because a strong Bolshevik guard were protecting the entrance to the quay; but over their heads I saw on the deck a number of prisoners making despairing signs to me. Then Colonel Boyle realized they were the very prisoners he came to rescue. Colonel Boyle speaks no language but English. He now said to me:

"I have never worked with a woman before. Before we go on, I just want to tell you one thing—say what I say and don't add anything of your own. Don't tell the Bolshevik what you think of them." And he went on to tell me that his experience in the Yukon had taught him much in regard to the type of men he had now to deal with; and he added grimly: "They have never got the best of me yet."

I knew on which ship had been the headquarters of the Roumanian "Battalion of Death." We went on board. We asked for Racovski. He had fled, taking with him all the millions requisitioned from the Roumanian Government. We asked to see the next in command, and a man was pushed forward. Colonel Boyle asked him why he had taken the prisoners, contrary to the treaty. He replied that he knew nothing about the treaty, and anyway, the circumstances had changed. The Germans were approaching; therefore, they were taking the prisoners away for their own good. Colonel Boyle retorted that the prisoners were his, and he was quite able to look after them himself. After a few further remarks, Colonel Boyle simply cut short all further conversation, by asking: "Are you a man of honor?" Monsieur Dichesco said that all the Bolsheviks were honorable men, and he was the most honorable of them all. Colonel Boyle said:

"That is just exactly what I thought; I know you will keep your word. Racovski has gone, and of course you don't know what to do. If I go to the Soviet and get a paper within two hours, saying they are still of the same mind as yesterday, will you give me the prisoners? You can expect the British and Americans to give no sympathy, if you do not keep your word."

Dichesco promised he would. Colonel Boyle said: "You wait for me."

We then left the ship. Of course, Dichesco knew full well

that the news of the approach of the Germans had scattered the Soviet to the four corners of the town. Well, we borrowed an automobile and looked up two or three of the most important members, particularly the man with the official seal. It was the most extraordinary thing to see the calm determination of Boyle, as contrasted to the excitement of the Russians, when he demanded his prisoners. Finally he persuaded them to give him the necessary papers and to put the seal upon them, after which, he buttoned them in his breast pocket.

We were returning exultantly towards the centre of the city, when we had a collision. The automobile was considerably damaged and the wind shield was broken. One of the pieces of glass hit me on the head. With the blood running down into my eyes, I had a moment of weakness and discouragement. He said:

"Nothing very serious is the matter with you. Anyway, I am a doctor—I know how to fix you up."

Taking me to my home, he proved himself indeed a skilful doctor; for when a physician finally arrived he found he had done exactly the right thing.

My house was filled with weeping women, anxious as to the fate of their husbands. Colonel Boyle reassured them; and, taking his leave of me, said he would go on to the house of his friends and ask them to find another interpreter.

Half an hour had not passed when the Secretary of the Roumanian Consulate rushed in, and said:

"Where is Colonel Boyle?"

I asked: "Has he not gone to the dock?"

"No, and if he is not there in ten minutes, it will be too late. The ship the prisoners are on is making ready to steam away.

Fortunately he had a car. I wrapped a motor veil about my head, and set out with him for Colonel Boyle's house. He went up asking the Colonel to come to speak to me. Some instinct made Boyle snatch up his cap and run down three flights of stairs; he immediately stepped into the automobile without even looking back, although afterwards I learned by accident that Colonel Boyle had left all his belongings in that house.

There were active preparations for immediate departure on the dock. We could see the Bolshevik soldiers with sacks on their backs boarding the ship. Colonel Boyle forced his way through the throng, and I followed him as closely as I could. He directed:

"Call out for your friend of this morning." Presently

Dichesco came forward, and something of the following conversation took place:

Colonel Boyle: "I thought you promised to wait for me."

Dichesco: "Well, I am here."

Colonel Boyle: "Yes, but had I not come now it would have been too late."

Dichesco: "Well, what is the use of waiting, anyhow? I know the Russian Soviet won't give up these prisoners."

Colonel Boyle produced his papers. The Bolshevik's face turned absolutely yellow and green. There were his comrades, witnesses of the conversation of the morning, when he claimed that of all honorable men he was the most honorable.

Colonel Boyle: "Before we talk any further, I want to see all those prisoners put on the dock."

Dichesco gave the necessary order and we saw all the prisoners taken on from the ship, still surrounded by guards. A very curious assemblage they were, many of them in the carpet slippers they wore when they were taken from their homes. When Boyle saw the last prisoner was on the dock he addressed Dichesco, saying:

"A cause upheld by men of honor like yourself cannot fail to come to great things. I wish you good luck and good-bye!"

During the fifteen or twenty minutes those arrangements had taken, Dichesco's brain had been working rapidly. It no longer suited the Roumanian "Battalion of Death" to give up the prisoners. That Germans had possession of almost the entire coast of the Black Sea, and the Bolsheviks were putting up no obstacle to their advance. Therefore, they wished to keep those seventy-one hostages in order to make a bargain with the Roumanian Government to reinstate and pardon them.

Monsieur Dichesco laid a detaining hand on Colonel Boyle's arm, saying:

"Oh, we know how the British do these things, and we want to do the right thing, too. You don't know the Roumanians. Every one of these prisoners' names must be on a list, and you must sign it and hold yourself responsible."

Colonel Boyle was one; they were a thousand. He therefore thought that diplomacy would be wise; and consented to go into the cabin, where we began to make out lists of the prisoners, identifying each one. When everything was ready and only the two signatures were to be put on this document, Dichesco arose and excused himself, saying his signature alone would be of no use—all the Soviet must sign. Colonel Boyle pulled out his watch:

"Please be quick—I will give you five minutes. The Germans are approaching, and they do not like this uniform."

Hardly had Dichesco left when a sliding panel in the wall was thrown back, and a head thrust in:

"Is that you, Madam Pantazzi?"

"Yes."

"Don't you remember me? I used to be a machinist on your husband's battle ship. Get off the ship at once with that Englishman! We are casting off."

Colonel Boyle understood not a word; but when I explained to him, he hastily gathered up the papers and we made our way on deck. It was so crowded we could hardly force our way to the gang-plank. We saw the prisoners crowded together and surrounded by guards. Their wives and children had come down to the dock and were waiting with them at the foot of the gang-plank.

Colonel Boyle said to me: "Tell your friends that no one is going on this ship."

We waited—it seemed a long time, but I expect it was not more than five minutes. Then we saw Dichesco coming along the dock, and thus he came face to face with Colonel Boyle.

Colonel Boyle held out the paper he still grasped in his hand.

"Sign!" he said.

"I will sign," was his energetic reply.

He must have made a signal with his hand, for the Bolsheviks on the ship began firing down on the unarmed, helpless crowd on the dock. The excitement and confusion was terrible. The prisoners tried to escape. Their wives were shrieking and the children knocked down and trampled by horses. My first thought was for my husband.

I could see the prisoners being forced up the steep gang-plank like sheep. Two sentries came rushing towards us, and my husband in his turn was obliged to mount the gang-plank. My thoughts turned again to Colonel Boyle. I looked to see where he was. Where I left him, there I found him—forced by the weight of numbers to one side of the gang-plank, he was standing quite as calm and collected as before. In my despair, I said to him: "What are you going to do now?" He looked at me, and then our eyes turned to the deck. At that moment we saw two Bolsheviks beating an unfortunate old man on the back. Colonel Boyle said:

"I cannot stand for this! I am going with them."

We grasped hands; I can see him now mount the steep in-

cline that led to that ship of horror and seize the two wretches who were beating one of "his" prisoners, as he called them, by the scruff of the neck. The hawsers were cut. A band of music on the ship drowned further sounds. I was left on the dock alone.

From then on, for six weeks we had no further news of Colonel Boyle or the rebel ship. On my return home, I found everyone confused and terribly anxious, but was enabled through the aviator who had brought Colonel Boyle, to send news back to Jassy. That evening my servants told me: "The Germans are here." I could not believe it, but on looking out, I saw the house surrounded by the glittering helmets of the German soldiers. I may say their coming undoubtedly saved the lives of the greater part of the civil population of Odessa; for soon after I saw in the market place the bodies of the Bolsheviks who had planned our massacre, hanging as a warning to all who might wish to follow their examples.

It would take me too long to tell of all the hair-breadth adventures Colonel Boyle went through with the prisoners. You never would believe me. It was a series of miracles that they ever came back! They were finally able to get news back to us. The Germans were now masters in Southern Russia, as they were in Roumania. Through the intercession of Queen Marie, Mackensen permitted Colonel Boyle to return with the prisoners. On his arrival in Jassy he was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and immediately invited to the palace, where he had conferred on him the splendid decoration, the "Star of Roumania." He is a great hero there, and any other Canadians who go to Roumania will have to live up to the reputation that he has made for them.

I have told you what one Canadian has done for Roumania. However, he is not the only one who has been of help to her. At the Armistice time, the Canadian Red Cross gave seventy tons of material to Roumania, thus saving thousands of lives. Later, Mr. Lloyd Harris was able to arrange a loan of twenty-five millions for Roumania, which was a tremendous help. My hope is, that your sympathies and understanding will be Roumania's. The Roumanians are still fighting on three sides against the Bolsheviks in the interest of civilization in Eastern Europe; and they need all your sympathy and all your help.

(February 16th, 1920)

The Development of Artillery During the War

BY GENERAL MCNAUGHTON.*

I have come here to-day to talk to you about artillery, and in particular about the development of artillery material and organization which has taken place during the War; I intend to indicate broadly the principles governing its employment and to illustrate these by examples drawn from the actions fought by the Canadian Corps in France and Belgium.

If I have little to say about the Infantry and other arms you will, I hope, appreciate that it is not because I attach an undue importance to the role played by the Artillery. No one realizes better than the gunners themselves that they are an auxiliary arm and that their task is to assist the Infantry. In the last analysis it is the Infantry advance and their determination to apply the cold steel that alone captures ground and wins battles.

The fire power in the hands of the Infantry themselves, by reason of the modern magazine rifle and machine gun, renders direct assault impracticable for the Infantry alone; while the vast numbers of troops placed in the field in modern war results in there being no flanks round which to manoeuvre.

Those conditions, together with the increased power of resistance conferred on the defender by reason of field entrenchments and wire entanglements, soon brought the war in Europe into a stable condition, where the opposing armies faced one another along continuous lines from Switzerland to the English Channel.

* Brigadier-General McNaughton stepped from the chair of Mathematics at McGill to the command of a battery of artillery in the War. His ability was so outstanding that he was attached to the Artillery Department of the Imperial General Staff. He is particularly notable as the developer of the system of "counter-battery fire" which was first used, with signal success, at Vimy Ridge.

Each attempt to break the deadlock and obtain power of manoeuvre resulted in prohibitive casualties to the attacker.

The obvious solution of the difficulty lay in a preponderance of artillery sufficient to crush out of existence a wide section of the enemy's defensive system, entrenchments and defenders alike; thus creating a gap through which troops could be thrown to work round the exposed flanks.

The establishments of artillery based on pre-war requirements were far from adequate to permit of the accomplishment of that result, and all belligerents set to work to remedy the defect.

In the British Field Army we had to begin with the following natures of armament:

	Calibre	Weight of Shell	Range	
			Yards	Miles
	Inches	Lbs.		
Horse Artillery.....	3	13	5,500	3
Field Artillery.....	3.3	18	6,500	3.5
Field Howitzer.....	4.5	35	7,200	4
Heavy Artillery.....	5	60	10,000	5.5
Siege Artillery.....	6	100/120	6,000	3.5

The allotment of artillery per division worked out at about fifty-four field guns and four sixty-pounders; and I believe that I am correct in saying that the whole Siege Train capable of taking the field consisted of some three or four batteries of six inch howitzers and an Armoured Train equipped with antiquated six inch guns.

The total numbers of guns of all natures with the British Expeditionary Force in the fall of 1914 was 484.

Some idea of the growth of the artillery may be realized from the fact that at the time of the Armistice the British guns in batteries on the Western Front numbered 6,437.

On numerous occasions the Canadian Corps has been supported by over 750 guns and howitzers, while in the last organized fighting in which we took part—the attack on Mount Houy and the capture of Valenciennes on November 1st, 1918—the advance of one Infantry Brigade alone (the 10th) was supported by 248 guns and howitzers.

Not only did the number of our guns increase; but the range and shell power were increased also, as is shown in the following table:

IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING PIECES.

Type	Range		
	1914	1918	Future
18-Pdr.	6,500	9,500	...
60-Pdr.	10,000	15,000	...
6" How.	6,000	9,500	12,000

NEW WEAPONS INTRODUCED.

Type	Weight of Shell	Range		Remarks
		Yards	Miles	
	Lbs.			
8" How.	200	12,000	7	Travelling Carriage
9.2 "	290	13,000	7.5	Pedestal Mounting
12" "	750	14,000	8	Pedestal & Railway
15" "	1,400	10,500	6	Pedestal (obsolete)
6" gun	100	19,000	11	Travelling Carriage
9.2 "	380	23,000	13	Railway
12" "	850	30,000	17	"
14" "	1,586	34,000	20	"
18" How.	2,500	?	?	"
? gun	....	....	75/100	"
8" "	....	40/50,000	....	"

Remarkable as these improvements were, the German gun designers had an initial lead which we were never able to make up; and at the end of the War their weapons still outranged us on the average, gun for gun, by nearly thirty per cent.

COMPARISONS OF SOME GERMAN AND BRITISH GUNS.

German		British		Remarks
Type	Range	Type	Range	
10 cm. How.	11,000	4.5 How.	7,200	Medium Howitzers of both armies approximately same.
15 cm. gun	25,000	6" gun	19,000	
35.5 cm.	68,000	14" gun	34,000	
77 mm.	11,700	18 pdr.	9,500	
15 cm. How.	9,600	6" How.	9,500	Advantage with British.
21 cm. How.	11,000	8" How.	12,000	

At the beginning, while our heaviest piece in the field was the six inch, the Germans had the seventeen inch: and those who were in front of Ypres in April 1915 will remember what it feels like to be shot at by every calibre up to and including

the seventeen inch with nothing to reply with, except a few field guns,—and how exasperating it was to have German batteries come into action in full view and not be able to reach them, while their shells were exploding in and around one's own battery position.

Then, too, in the matter of ammunition the Germans had the lead. While we were under limitations of three rounds per gun per day for our field pieces, he appeared to have plenty of reserve stocks—and he certainly used them.

I am afraid that in the early days the artillery situation was not such as to inspire confidence in the minds of our infantry. Picture to yourself the case of an infantry officer pointing out to a gunner the location of a nest of German machine guns which are worrying the men in the line. The gunner admits it is a good target and he would like to engage it, but—"No ammunition." The retort of the infantryman is likely to be, "What are you doing in the Great War anyway?" and the result, if the gunner is a bit touchy, is to permanently damage liaison.

As the war went on, we got more and more ammunition, but we suffered considerably from lack of standardization. In the early summer of 1915 we had four different types of field-gun shrapnel in our limbers at the same time, with a variation of range of anything up to 400 yards. In 1916, in the 4.5 howitzers, we had three types of propellant in use simultaneously—Cordite, Ballistite and N.C.T.—all with different temperature and moisture coefficients, and all giving results varying in a most obscure way with the wear of the howitzer. Charges originally shipped in lots of similar manufacture got mixed up on the Lines of Communication. Shell varied in weight; driving-bands were of many varieties.

The battery officers have, in any event, to make corrections for:

- Temperature of air and charge
- Barometer
- Velocity and direction of wind
- Wear of gun
- Type of fuse

and when the already difficult task is further complicated by lack of standardization in propellant, driving-band, and shell; the task of exact shooting is rendered almost impossible. In 1918, the lack of standardization had become one of the serious limiting factors in the tactical employment of artillery.

I mention those facts for the benefit of those who, in the

event of another war, will be responsible for the manufacture of munitions; and in the hope that, in that event, due attention will be given to the necessity for thorough standardization.

As the number of guns available began to increase, the existing artillery units had to be expanded and new ones raised. Technical skill had to be developed and previous lessons and teachings modified to suit the changed conditions. The Field and Horse gunners, accustomed to fighting under circumstances which enabled them to observe every round, had to cease from scoffing at corrections for temperature, barometer, etc.; and the Heavy Artillery, used to the utmost deliberation, had to learn speed, accuracy of fire on unseen targets, and to acquire the ability to shoot close over the heads of our own infantry. In addition, an organization had to be built up which could effectively handle large masses of artillery.

At the Somme, in 1916, we had any quantity of guns and ammunition; but many of our battery officers and higher commanders were inexperienced; our artillery Intelligence organization was in its infancy; the methods of co-operation between aircraft and the artillery command were rudimentary. Although, as Ludendorf admits, we did considerable harm to the Germans, the results indicated that *there was not that happy combination in the employment of the artillery in support of the other arms which leads to easy success in battle.* The lessons were invaluable, but the cost in life was terrific. It was largely because the British General Staff read those lessons correctly and had the courage of their convictions to effect the necessary reorganization that later we were able to beat the Germans, despite the fact that in the technical matters of guns and ammunition they still maintained their lead.

Put shortly, the situation in 1917 and onward was, that the Germans had the advantage in quality of artillery material; we, in quantity, organization, and tactical employment.

General Byng, the Commander of the Canadian Corps, was one of the first to grasp the significance of the lessons of the Somme; and, with Major-General Sir Edward Morrison, set about perfecting our artillery organization. That attitude was maintained when Sir Arthur Currie succeeded General Byng in the command.

I feel safe in saying that by 1917 the organization of the Canadian Corps Artillery had reached an advanced state, and that our lead over similar organizations was maintained to the end of the war. The credit for that is largely due to our Corps Commander; who, in developing his policy of giving his

infantry the maximum of support, was invariably sympathetic in his attitude towards the Canadian gunners and gave us the necessary means and encouragement to surmount the difficulties which from time to time faced us.

I said a moment ago that one of the great advantages we had over the German was in organization. This will be realized from the fact that his artillery was invariably organized and fought on a Divisional Front; and as a consequence he experienced great difficulty in bringing to bear, at any given time and place, an adequate volume of fire. So, too, his artillery Intelligence was collected and co-ordinated on a Divisional Front, and he experienced difficulty in passing his information to adjacent formations; and while his Intelligence Service undoubtedly acquired a mass of valuable data, there did not appear to be a suitable chain of artillery command through which its value could be fully exploited.

During battle, we, on the other hand, organized and fought as a Corps, with the result that the whole force of our Artillery within range was immediately available to support any sector of our front; and the whole of our Intelligence System was centred on those who had the means at their disposal to take immediate and effective action.

Artillery Intelligence is required: first, for immediate action; and secondly, for compilation, study, and deduction with a view to subsequent action.

In the time at our disposal to-day I can only briefly refer to the principal sources of Artillery Intelligence, which are:—

- Aeroplane observation
- Photographs
- Survey Sections
- Sound-ranging groups
- Ground observers
- Officers' patrols
- Répatries
- Prisoners
- Espionage
- Balloons

In order to make the Intelligence derived from these sources immediately available to the Artillery, very elaborate communications are required. In fact, the whole system was only possible because our Canadian Signal Service was so thoroughly efficient.

In handling Artillery in the field, the first consideration is that its fire must do the utmost possible to assist our Infantry

to get forward. Exact Intelligence and a careful study of the enemy's dispositions enables the Artillery Commander to form his plan with that end in view. He must foresee just which factors of the enemy's defence organization are dangerous, and when. Hostile artillery, machine-guns, trenches, wire, mortars, enemy reserves, etc.,—all must be given attention at the proper time. Wherever Intelligence is indefinite, inaccuracy must be made up by volume of fire.

In practice, the various conditions are met about as follows:

Initially, and during the advance, the whole of the Field Artillery and a part of the Heavy are on barrage work, carrying out a plan issued by the G.O.C., R.A., of the Corps, and co-ordinated with flanking Corps by the Army. The inner fringe of the barrage is laid in front of the Infantry, and throughout the attack goes forward according to the pre-arranged plan. It usually consists of 18-pdr. shrapnel fired directly over the heads of our troops, and in some of our operations has reached a density of one 18-pdr. per nine yards of front, firing four rounds per minute. You will appreciate the accuracy demanded from our Field Batteries when you realize that they are called on to burst their shell so that the mean point of impact of their shrapnel bullets shall be 200 yards in front of our advancing Infantry, the range being anything from 1,500 to 4,500, or more, yards.

The 4.5 field howitzers, firing High Explosive shells, are employed on machine-gun nests, strong points, etc., and fire on points in rear of the 18-pdrs. targets. The six inch howitzers operate on similar targets still further in rear.

The idea of the barrage is to tie the enemy to the ground, to inflict casualties, and to demoralize him and prevent his using his rifles, machine-guns, trench mortars, etc.; and to screen the advance of our infantry by a wall of bursting shell, smoke, and dust.

The Heavy Artillery, not scheduled for the barrage, works directly under the Intelligence Centre at the Heavy Artillery Headquarters and is engaged in dealing with the enemy's artillery, exploiting targets of opportunity, harassing the enemy's line of retreat, his reserve troops, his railheads where reinforcements may be arriving, his aerodromes, etc.

As the attack progresses, and the end of the pre-arranged barrages are reached, a portion of the Field Artillery reverts temporarily to the control of the Divisions and moves forward

to work directly with the attacking Infantry. The remainder goes into Reserve. The Heavy Artillery which has been employed in the barrage moves forward to be in position to deal with the enemy's artillery as soon as it again comes into action. The Artillery on counter-battery work initially becomes available as a reserve of fire-power to be turned on any threatened sector as required.

You will realize that the whole method of employment of Artillery has been in continuous development and we have had a succession of limiting factors to contend with. At Vimy, in April 1917, for instance; it was Observation of Fire, and Intelligence; at Hill 70, in August of the same year, Life of Guns; at Paschendael, in November, wear and tear on artillery personnel; at Amiens, in August 1918, available positions for deployment; and, during the later phases of the advance, transportation of ammunition from railhead to the guns. Throughout, as our Artillery Intelligence system was perfected, the need for increased accuracy was felt.

The policy of our Corps Commander was invariably to give his Infantry the maximum possible of Artillery support, and never to employ men where shells would do the work. The motto of the Canadian Artillery has been to shoot the "ultimate round," and how well our gunners achieved this task may be seen from the figures of ammunition expenditure for some of our major operations.

	Days	Field Guns	H'vy	Total	Thou. of R'nds	Tons	Tons Day
Paschendael.....	30	360	220	580	1,453	40,908	1,370
Amiens	16	408	236	644	409	.....	.....
Monchy	6	504	270	774	300	.....	.....
Drocourt-Queant	27	528	234	762	786	.....	.....
Bourlon	12	522	262	784	1,067	.....	.....
Cambrai	23	334	262	596	519	.....	.....
Valenciennes to Mons..	12	312	174	486	215	.....	.....
Amiens to Mons	100	.....	.....	.....	3,296	73,100	731

As an illustration of the effect of ammunition expenditure in reducing casualties and increasing results (without, in any way, wishing to draw unkind comparisons with our neighbors on the south) I quote the figures of the Argonne-Meuse offensive in contrast to the last hundred days fighting of the Canadian Corps:

	American	Canadian	Remarks
Maximum number of guns	3,928	784	{ 2417 American, remainder French Artillery.
Divisions	22	4	
Troops — Divisional and Corps	650,000	105,000	
Guns per 1000 troops.	6.1	7.5	{ Canadian includes marching. American figures include French Artillery.
Duration of operations	47 days	100 days	
Ammunition Expenditure (rounds)	4,214,000	3,296,000	
Ammunition Expenditure per day	90,000	32,960	{ Ratio: Canadian 2.3, American 1.
Ammunition Expenditure per day per 1000 troops	138	313	
Ammunition Expenditure per gun (max.) per day	23	42	
Battle casualties	100,000	45,830	{ Ratio: Canadian 1.8, American 1.
Prisoners	16,000	31,537	
Guns captured	468	623	
Machine guns captured	2,864	2,842	{ American Forces 22 divisions and 4 French divisions. Canadians partially engaged 21 other German divisions. French casualties not included. Ratio: American 2.2, Canadian 1. Canadian does not include marching Arras to Amiens and back.
Trench mortars captured	177	336	
Territory freed (square miles)	610	500	
Villages freed	150	228	{ American Forces 22 divisions and 4 French divisions. Canadians partially engaged 21 other German divisions. French casualties not included. Ratio: American 2.2, Canadian 1. Canadian does not include marching Arras to Amiens and back.
German divisions met and defeated	46	47	
Casualties per German division defeated ...	2,170	975	
Maximum advance ...	34 miles	86 miles	{ American Forces 22 divisions and 4 French divisions. Canadians partially engaged 21 other German divisions. French casualties not included. Ratio: American 2.2, Canadian 1. Canadian does not include marching Arras to Amiens and back.
Average daily rate ...	.72 miles	.86 miles

Both Canadian and American Forces used about the same proportion of guns to Infantry; but the ammunition expenditure per 1,000 Infantry per day was about two and one-half times as great in the Canadian as in the American. This expenditure was more than justified, as the Canadians had less than half the American casualties per German Division defeated.

I may say that this enormous ammunition expenditure by the Canadian Corps and the satisfactory results achieved were only possible because our leaders arranged their plans of attack in such a way that the maximum Artillery support could be developed in the intimate assistance of our assaulting Infantry.

From an Artillery point of view, one of the most interesting operations of the Canadian Corps was the attack carried out on the morning of November 1st, 1918, by the 10th Infantry Brigade against Mount Houy, the key to Valenciennes. The 10th Brigade advanced with its left flank on the Canal De L'Escaut, and its right covered by the advance of the XXII Corps. On a front of about 2,000 yards, the depth of penetration was some 4,000 yards; taking 190 minutes, including pauses. As the initial forming-up line was on a slight salient, the direction of the advance was practically parallel to our own front.

The attack was supported by eight Brigades of Field Artillery and six Brigades of Heavy Artillery; or roughly, 144 18-pdrs., 48 4.5 howitzers and 104 heavy guns and howitzers. Some eighty machine-guns were also employed.

The ammunition expenditure was as follows:

Field	56,200 rds.	620 tons
Heavy	31,500 rds.	1,520 tons
Total	87,700 rds.	2,140 tons

That is approximately one ton per yard of Front, or one and one-half tons per Infantry soldier employed. That was the most intense barrage ever employed in support of any of the operations of the Canadian Corps. All objectives were taken on time.

Enemy killed	800	Our killed	60
Wounded prisoners ...	75	Our wounded	380
Unwounded prisoners .	1,379	Our missing	61
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2,254		501

I have gone rather at length into the capture of Valenciennes because I regard that operation as a type of what we would have tried to do in the Campaign of 1919 should we have had to fight.

As a further illustration by which the comparative expenditure may be judged: at Waterloo, in 1815, the expenditure was 9,000 rounds, having a total weight of 37 tons. Compare that with the average daily expenditure of the Canadian Corps at Paschendael; 48,500 rounds, weighing 1,370 tons. In the South African War, the expenditure was 273,000 rounds, weighing 2,800 tons—not much in excess of our Valenciennes operation, or equal to about two average days of the Paschendael fighting.

I have been talking about the Artillery generally, and many British Batteries, Field, Heavy and Siege—and some South African—have helped us from time to time. But I wish to add a special word about our own Canadian gunners. The Canadians took naturally to gunnery; our Battery Commanders, Section Officers, N.C.O's and gunners, developed extraordinary skill, efficiency, and dependability. If, in support of our Infantry, there was ever a particularly difficult or dangerous task to be performed, a Canadian Battery was called on to do it.

On only two occasions were any of our guns in German hands. The first was at Ypres, in 1915, when the London 4.7 battery, an English Battery attached to us, was over-run, due to the Germans breaking through on our left. The second was at Sanctuary Wood in 1916, when two of our forward guns were taken. On each occasion the guns were recovered in the subsequent fighting. I mention that, not in praise of our Artillery, but as a tribute to the work of the Infantry, and as reason for the confidence our gunners had when Canadian Infantry were in front of them.

Now, in conclusion I wish to emphasize that the employment of the Artillery in the Field was not perfected by any of the belligerents in a day. At the beginning, neither side knew much about it. In the war of the future it will not do to be unprepared. The country which goes into the field with its Artillery in shape and ready to use from the very beginning, will surely win. Let us hope that in the organization of our Canadian Militia Forces the technical knowledge which our men have gained will be kept alive, and that the lessons and experience purchased in this war at the expense of so much blood and vast treasure will not be lost to us in a time of greater need.

(February 23rd, 1920)

"The Far East"

BY SIR EDMUND WALKER, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am very proud to be here and to address you.

I wish to speak to you about the Far East, mainly because I have been there recently and because that is the subject which has most filled my mind in leisure moments during the past six or eight months. European people call it, I suppose, the Far East, because when they look across and beyond their continent, across Turkestan, Thibet and Mongolia, they reach to the ancient civilization of the Eighteen Provinces of China and of Japan, and they realize that it is to them the Far East; but, of course, when we look at it we turn the other way, and across our prairies and our sea of mountains and the loneliest ocean in the world, the Pacific, we see what we might naturally call the Far West; but I mean by the Far East, Japan, Korea, Manchuria and China and other countries that touch the great Pacific Ocean.

I ask your consideration of the Far East, because I am one of those who have been convinced since the days when efforts were being made to establish an international body for arbitration that a league of nations is not so necessary as that the English-speaking people of this world should understand that they lead the civilization of this world and that without their leadership civilization cannot be secure.

There is more or less of a propaganda going on, I imagine, at the present time, to keep the greatest Republic in the world and the greatest Empire in the world withdrawn from each other and not as close together as they should be. We cannot, however, doubt that if we are to have, either by the exhaustion of nations from war, or because of a League of Nations, or because of a well-adjusted balance of power, a long period of peace, the history of the twentieth century will

*Sir Edmund Walker, an honoured member of the Club and President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, had just returned from a prolonged visit to the Far East. His interest in Japanese affairs was recognized by his appointment as Honorary Consul-General for Japan in Canada.

involve the development of vast trans-Pacific relations with that part of Asia which fronts upon the Pacific.

Now there is a very wide difference of opinion regarding Japan itself, and I believe that difference of opinion is a very unfortunate one. There are a great many British merchants in China and in the East, with their vested interests, and there are a great many Americans who are bitterly opposed to Japan. My object to-day is, if possible, to show reasons why whatever we may think of Japan, our true interest is that the two great powers in the world who along with Japan are most interested in the development of Asia and the Pacific, and particularly of the Pacific Ocean, should understand each other. I believe whether nations such as France, Italy, and other powers, should join us or not, that the fate of that part of Asia which has to do with the Pacific, depends upon the relations of the United States, Great Britain and Japan, and the recognition by all of us of the peculiar rights that Japan possesses.

It is but fair for me to tell you in advance that I am prejudiced; that I have been for years a member of the Japan Society of America, and that the Japanese people did me the honor of making me an honorary Consul-General of Japan. I do not wish to sail under false colors, and I may as well admit in advance that you are entitled to accept my views as held with a certain amount of prejudice. It is very necessary for all of us if we desire to understand the Eastern people to bear in mind that the average Japanese or Chinese student who has not lived in the Western world and who has not seen the best of us, thinks of the nations of the Western world, and particularly of the Anglo-Saxon people, as a people who have never hesitated to exact their rights, to exact indeed whatever they have desired from all weaker peoples. They do not believe that ethically we are what we profess to be. They do not believe we are any better from the point of view of ethics than our history in dealing with subject people, has shown us to be in the past.

I went to the East frankly in the interest of my own Bank, not for the purpose of opening agencies of our bank in foreign countries, but to reinforce our position in the East, to make sure of our relations with our correspondents, and to acquire knowledge, particularly regarding those projects which are likely to influence the trans-Pacific trade.

I saw Japan and Korea, Manchuria and China too rapidly to believe that there is much value in my views; but I shall

speak about the particular things that struck me, and I am going to ask you first to let me try and give you a geographical picture, because we do not look at maps very often and, when we do, we still seem to remain under strange delusions about some things.

We do not, I think, realize often enough that the Islands of the Japanese Empire stretch from a point opposite Havana to a point opposite British Columbia, or Southern Alaska. They stretch from Formosa to Sagalien, or from Formosa to the Kurile Islands near Kamchatka, covering thirty degrees of longitude. We cannot pass from the North-American continent to the continent of Asia without passing through that extraordinary string of islands which reach from a point opposite Havana to a point so far north. We have to remember that there are about five hundred of these islands that have been surveyed, and about three thousand of them altogether, and that Japan has a coast line of 18,000 miles and one mile of sea coast for every ten miles of land area.

When I come to speak of her as a great sea power you will realize what she was in the past and must be again in the future, having for each ten miles of area one mile of sea coast, and five hundred separate islands that have been surveyed stretching from Formosa to Kamchatka.

Now if we think then of this geographical condition because of which we cannot practically reach the continent of Asia without paying our compliments to some one of the Japanese Islands, we will understand that they have a peculiar relation to Asia, which is referred to in an American State document as "propinquity." It is well for us to remember that propinquity is not mere geographical nearness, but neighborliness and nearness of race. It is, after all, the kind of relationship that exists between the United States and Canada. We purchase an enormous amount of merchandise from the United States which naturally we should like to purchase from Great Britain, but because of the propinquity, because of the geographical nearness, the neighborliness and kinship of race, we buy these things from the United States, and if we try to understand Japan, we must recognize the fact that she has this propinquity so far as Asia is concerned, that she is the natural one, by neighborliness and kinship of race and nearness geographically, to serve Asia.

We must also try to remember that Japan has sixty million people crowded into these islands; that her population per square mile is 385; while Belgium (the most crowded country

in the world) has only 665; Great Britain, 374; China, 172; the United States, 34; and Canada, 2.

The consideration of density of population, the need of expansion, the fact of propinquity to Asia, and that curious geographical position, are things that we must try to bear in mind if we are to attempt to understand and to be fair to Japan.

Japan has an area of about 175,000 square miles, about half as large as British Columbia. It is not so mountainous and has, indeed, some extensive and well-watered plains but it is probably the most intensively-cultivated country in the world. The people have shown themselves able to live on a smaller area of land than almost any other people. They have evidenced this, not simply by their high skill in agriculture and their passionate devotion to their own country, but they have shown some of the highest qualities of civilization in their arts and other crafts. They cannot at the present time raise enough food for their own wants, and if they are to become a great manufacturing people, that difficulty will grow greater. That they must have some place to which they may emigrate and develop, is just as certain as it was with the Anglo-Saxon people at an earlier time; and if we try and think of them as a sort of Anglo-Saxons in the East, we will perhaps better understand their aims.

When they took over Korea, they took over a country of 82,000 square miles, about one-quarter the size of British Columbia; not a large country; volcanic, but not so volcanic as Japan. They have ninety-six earthquake shocks on an average per year in Tokyo—but not very severe shocks! I believe twelve of them took place when I was there, and I did not feel any of them, so they do not rock the earth very much! Korea is not, however, so volcanic as Japan, but its ancient corrugated hills have been divested of timber and it is, to a great degree, a barren country. This you may bear in mind also by remembering that it is the one land of northern Asia where the tiger still roams.

It has some rich valleys and arable land but this is only half cultivated. I shall have occasion to refer later to what Japan has done for Korea, but one of the things to remember is the physical condition of Korea when Japan took charge of it.

Manchuria is larger than British Columbia, but while Korea has a population of, I think, about twelve millions, Manchuria has only a population slightly larger, in a country perhaps

four to five times as large. And it has behind it the enormous country of Mongolia, which, however, does not come into the Pacific problem. Manchuria, therefore, is a country capable of tremendous development, with a very thin population, mountainous, but with a great deal of country fit for agriculture.

Siberia, about which I do not intend to speak, is larger than the United States, and larger than Canada; but that part of Siberia which touches the Pacific problem has an area of about 1,100,000 square miles, that is about a quarter of the whole, and has only about one million people. It is a country not very different from some of our prairie provinces, and you must consider and think of what is likely to take place in that great vacuum when there are sixty millions in Japan.

When we come to China itself, its area is about 4,300,000 square miles, larger than Canada or the United States; but most of us have very great misconceptions about the population of China. It is spoken of as having 450,000,000 people. If there are 450,000,000 people, 400,000,000 of them live in China proper on the old eighteen provinces, an area of about 1,520,000 square miles, which means that Manchuria and Mongolia, Turkestan and Thibet, are extremely thinly populated, and the only part densely populated is the eighteen provinces. Again if there are 400,000,000 in the eighteen provinces, three hundred millions of these are in the seaward half of these provinces, so we must speak of China as thickly populated only in these eastern parts of the provinces that are near to the Pacific.

Some people say the estimates of population are greatly exaggerated, that it is somewhat less than three hundred million altogether, but whatever it may be its division is so curious that you see the result in comparing China, which has a small population as a whole, with countries like Belgium, Great Britain or Japan. It is, however, intensely populated so far as the eastern half of the provinces of China proper are concerned, where the people reach as many as 490 per square mile.

Now that I have tried to give you a geographical picture, we must also try and think of Asia as it was about sixty years ago. We cannot possibly judge Japan, unless we consider what she has come out of in the last sixty years. Now, sixty years ago, in China itself we had a country where the ethics of Confucius, and the ethics, or religion, whatever you may choose to call it for Laotze, the Taoists, was all that repre-

sented religion to these people, except Buddhism; where the government of the country in the hands of the mandarins represented the division of a great country into a lot of principalities, where the mandarins were respectively petty kings, so long as they pleased the Emperor.

The mandarin was intensely proud of his country, and of his ancestry. He was an aristocrat to the last degree, but he was as a rule hopelessly corrupt in the administration of his various provinces. To this country came the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and others, battering away over a long range of time to get into China; and in the end, as you know, they forced their way into Macao, Hong Kong, Shanghai and many other ports, exacting from China extra-territoriality; that is to say, they exacted from China sections of the country in which they might build their houses after their own style, police and otherwise defend themselves and, indeed, carry on their own life, and live as little oases in the Chinese civilization.

The people of China were so different from Japan, that it is well to bear the social strata in mind. At the head of society in China after the Emperor and the royal family, who were sacred personages, came the literati. If a man could pass a high enough University degree, he might become the secretary to the Emperor, or hold a high office of State. It was a democracy in that respect, curiously different, as in other respects, from other countries. After the literati came the farmer, the owner of land; and after the farmer, the artisan, the many who had the skill of brain or hand and could do something; and after him, at the bottom of the scale, the merchant.

It is well to remember that the oriental idea of the merchant sixty years ago was about the idea that we find in Shakespeare's *Autolycus*, the pedlar at your door, who will be sure to cheat you, who came to sell his bogus wares to you, and to boast about them as much as he could. He was at the bottom of the scale. After the merchant, with no status whatever came the travelling play-actor, the unskilled workman, and the beggar in the roadway. That was China, and the mandarin in that civilization looked with contempt on the western barbarian; and looked upon those who insisted on trading with China and who in the end forced extra-territoriality, with an amount of contempt and hatred that you can imagine, accompanied by all the powerlessness of a nation which had no place whatever in its social scale for the soldier.

When we turn to Japan it is well for us to remember that the Japanese and Chinese, despite the propinquity that I speak of, are far more different as individuals than Englishmen and Frenchmen. They are also different as a nation in many respects. The Japanese people were able to boast that for 2,500 years no foreigner had successfully put foot on Japan. There you found a society in which the Emperor also was sacred, and no member of the royal family was allowed to follow any occupation, not even military. The country, however, was really governed by the head of the particular clan which in these numerous civil wars had become dominant for the moment. This was the Shogun, something like the Mayor of the Palace in Carolingian days in France. After him came the heads of the remaining clans, the Daimios, who were something like the English Dukes. Then came the Samurai and the ordinary soldiers of lesser rank. Only with those military and higher ranks was honor in the social scale. Then came a division as in China. First, the farmer who owned land, and then the artizan who could do something with his hands—a very important feature in Japan; and then the merchant, and then the travelling tinker and tailor and actor and baker, and so on.

This was a country feudal to the last degree, ready to fight and with a passionate devotion to Japan; while on the other hand China was a country with no political cohesion, no love for China itself, largely because everything was provincial and came under the influence of the mandarin.

These things we must try and bear in mind, and we must remember that at that time, sixty years ago, North America was involved in the first gold rush to California. No railroad reached the coast until 1866. The Hawaiian Islands were then the Sandwich Islands with which we associated memories of Captain Cook and a few missionaries; and our whole Pacific coast was not even outlined in the maps which we gave to our children in the schools.

Therefore, I ask you to remember our condition on the Pacific coast, the condition of the Pacific and of China and Japan at that time. If you do not you cannot have any conception of what has been accomplished in the last sixty years.

Going back to China, I have no time to enter into the history of those nations who forced themselves into China, and secured extra-territoriality; but I want you to remember what "extra-territoriality" means when you pass your judgment upon the Japanese people in regard to the Shantung question,

because the Japanese people are trying to secure from China the kind of privileges which England, France, Germany, and other nations, have enjoyed in China, that is, to have the right to have an establishment of their own where they could be sure that justice will be administered in accordance with the law of their own country; and where they can be sure that they can protect and take care of their people.

I am not judging the question. I am not expressing an opinion; but I ask you to remember that when you judge Japan for anything that she is doing which seems over-reaching to study the history of what England, France, Germany and other countries have succeeded in doing.

We have, as a result, in China, several perfectly wonderful European cities: Tientsin, Hankow, Shanghai, Hong Kong and several others. There are beautifully-built European houses; splendidly-paved streets. The streets, as far as traffic is concerned, are administered as well as in any city in the world. Administered by what?—administered by policemen who bear the evidence that they belong to these European nations. I was very proud, for instance, to find all through China that everywhere the streets of the British Extra-territoriality were guarded by tall Sikhs—bigger than any other Asiatic people that I saw, and capable of taking most of the Asiatics up and pitching them like a base-ball! And they represented the power of what? The power of Great Britain in that country of China.

In the same way the French used one of their subject peoples, the Annamites, a people so like the Chinese that they are not easily separable to some of us. Each city, in each particular part, was policed by the policemen of the foreign country which had secured extra-territorial rights from China.

Now, what are the relations between these nations and China itself in carrying on the extensive trade which takes place between them. Do they mix with China? A Chinaman cannot enter an English Club. He may come into your house as a servant. He may come into your office for business. Practically otherwise you do not meet him. There are two civilizations mutually repellant and entirely different, that are not fusing or trying to come together. You have a condition that cannot fuse, and can never be otherwise than distasteful to the people of China.

I recall a young man of high social position in Chinese society, educated at Oxford, a member of the Bullingdon Club, a club of which the Prince of Wales was a member, but of

which very few young Englishmen can succeed in becoming a member. This young Chinese gentleman, however, was a member of this club. He rode his horses in all the races in England, was indeed a famous owner of horses. He was as perfect a type of young Englishman in speech as you could imagine; but he was a Chinaman although of a distinguished Chinese family. He was powerful enough to aid in establishing an International Racing Club in Shanghai—but he could not step into an English Club in the same city. That is a condition for which I have no remedy. I do not know how it could be otherwise; but I put it before you whether that kind of a thing is likely to make out of China and the East, the kind of civilization we hope to see there at some future time. Do not let us forget that it is all extremely hateful to the fine Chinese gentleman that you meet every now and then. He has regard for his country, and he perfectly understands the kind of power that exacted this extra-territoriality, and the purposes for which it is used.

I wish to speak about transportation in China, because that is the great question in everybody's mind at the present time. I have spoken to you about China's population, where it is dense and also where China is thinly peopled. It has a most wonderful series of canals and rivers; and if it only needed local transportation, it would do well enough as it is, but it has no connection practically with the outside world. It has twelve ancient trade routes that were just the same one or two thousand years ago. You can still see a thousand camels coming through the pass into Peking from the deserts beyond the Great Wall. I saw strings of two and three hundred camels going back, and they came originally from far-off Mongolia and Turkestan. They bear such merchandise as camels can possibly bear, feeding themselves every day, and coming a very long distance, a few furs and compact articles of great value, the overwhelming bulk of the product of the country being impossible of transportation. They take back tea in bricks, and a few other things of compressible character. That is all that is possible from the vast back stretches of country not connected by water, to bring to the sea-board cities. But you have rivers like the Yellow River, with great possibilities of commerce, and particularly the Great Yantze Kiang. The Yantze River which runs from Shanghai to Hankow will carry steamers of six or seven thousand tons, and it takes three days' active steaming to go to Hankow from Shanghai. That is by far the greatest inland waterway in the world.

In the central section of it there are countless junks which with their predecessors have carried salt over a certain part of that river for a thousand years, perhaps for two thousand years. Some of the people on these junks, especially the women and children, may never have been on land at all. The ships themselves have never been down to the mouth of the river or up to Hankow, but pass backwards and forwards in their narrow section. That great waterway will some day have ships coming from the uttermost parts of the earth to Shanghai and all the way up to Hankow, and Hankow will some day be larger than Chicago. The greatest iron mines of China are near there. There are three of the greatest cities there together, which in 1845 were said to have altogether seven or eight million people. Then we have the Grand Canal, which you doubtless know was begun more than one thousand years ago, which is eight or nine hundred miles long, and is the north and south connection of these east and west rivers.

You will remember that twenty or thirty years ago they began to build railways in China; and then somebody's cow was killed, and the ghosts of someone's ancestors were interfered with, and so the rails were torn up and thrown into the sea.

But, in 1910, despite all these difficulties, China had three thousand miles of railway, and she has now about six thousand miles. That is what is claimed, and I imagine that is about right. If China had railways per thousand people to the extent that Canada has, she would have from 250,000 to 300,000 miles of railway instead of six. I therefore ask you to consider what may happen to China if she is given transportation facilities.

That she desires railroads is quite clear. Such Chinamen as have had experience of them wish to have railroads built. My own belief is that railroads should not be built for China even by a consortium of foreign bankers. They should be built by a National Committee representing the four or five powers most interested in the East. They should be built in this way, in order that they may be honestly built. They should be carried on by such a committee in order that they may be honestly carried on, and they should be built with reference to what is desirable in the extension of China. They should be built without the purchase of franchises from Chinese Parliaments, together with other concessions not necessary to railroads, and not desirable in the interests of the

outside world. The outside world is interested in finding a way of building railroads in China for which people may lend their money, confident that the investment is a sound one because a Committee of the great nations of the world have undertaken to superintend the construction and the management of such roads. China may refuse roads on these conditions. If she does, she should be told that she cannot have roads until she will submit to such conditions.

I believe that the building of railroads would change China in many respects besides mere transportation, and it was on that point that I was requested, at a meeting at which Sir John Jordan, the British Minister, was present, to speak in Peking. I told them that a visitor of a few days in China could not express a valuable opinion about China, but that I could express an opinion as to what the railroads have done politically in a country like Canada. Several disconnected sections of British North America, hating each other politically, were made into what Canada is to-day by a transcontinental railroad; and I believe that railroads in China, not on the North American scale, but on any reasonable scale, let us say 60,000 miles instead of the present 6,000 miles, would make great changes in China and cause countless people to meet each other who do not now meet. The people of the north and the south would meet each other, and would not be diametrically opposed to each other, as they are at the present time. There would be political opinions about the railway itself—there would be sure to be at least two opinions about it; and you would find that coherence in politics and other national opinions would arise in China, as they arise anywhere else. They might be unwise opinions but they would certainly arise if the people met each other; and if you had railroads permitting ideas to travel, creating a serviceable mail, a serviceable telegraph system, and a serviceable transportation system for people as well as for goods. I therefore believe that railroads are of tremendous importance to China, not simply from the point of transportation, but politically, socially, and in many other ways. I also believe that the opening up of China is a matter of such moment to the world, that we had better consider how fast we desire to do it, and how quickly we desire to throw China open to the rest of the world.

If China were to begin to export products in the way that I will show you Manchuria has been exporting products, in fifteen or twenty years of active railroad building, we might

seriously upset the balance of world trade. But we are tremendously interested in its development, and the longer we sit back and fail to come into community together as to how we intend to treat China, the worse conditions will be for us in the future.

I should now like to turn for a minute to Manchuria, the country of the Manchus. It is a country rich in many minerals. The robes of the Manchu Emperors of China were yellow, because gold is their idea of purity in comparison with other metals not so pure. The Manchurians have been a proud people but you know that half of Manchuria was lost to China and passed over to Russia, and that subsequently Russia lost it, and Japan has now what is called a lease of it. I want to tell you what has happened in Manchuria in a few directions, in order that you may realize what an oriental government with western ideas of progress can do. In the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* all the products, minerological and agricultural of Manchuria, are set out; but there is no mention whatever of the soya bean.

I will tell you frankly that I went to the east largely to find out whether the soya bean had become a world product, on which bankers might safely grant large credits. I found in Manchuria, where they had developed the soya bean, that the Manchurian farmer had thus secured a product which the outside world always needed, and which caused real money to come into the country for its purchase; with the natural effect that in Manchuria you saw new developments everywhere, new farming, new houses, new land taken in, new stations springing up. This made it clear that the country was being regenerated by having a product which the outside world wished to buy, and which brought it a stream of money, and in which respect it was different from almost any other part of the Asiatic continent except India.

I found that the Russians, for strategic reasons, had tried to build ports in the gulf there, and had thus left behind the town of Dairen, which the Japanese had further developed. I saw wharves there which would make Vancouver and Victoria groan with jealousy; not only as to their beauty of construction and their strength, but as to the extent of them, and their general usefulness. I found a hotel, the like of which I do not know in any city of its size in the world. The hotel here and at Seoul, where we were entertained at dinners in European style finer in every respect than anything that could be obtained in America, are managed by the state railway which

also manages coal mines, real estate, and in every way has made travelling in Manchuria not only delightful for the traveler, but has given you the idea of a country being rapidly developed.

When we come to Siberia—I do not intend to speak at length about that country, because I did not visit it—but I am perfectly certain that when Bolshevism has come to its natural end—being itself a process of destruction—there will be left in Siberia the land and the peasants; and when the land and the peasants are thus left, Siberia will rebuild itself; but it will be aided in its rebuilding largely by people with enterprise coming in from outside. I have spoken of it as a country extremely thinly populated, with possibilities as great as our own prairie provinces.

When you come to Korea, Japan, of course, has been criticized for recent events there, in which the missionaries played a part. Korea was a country, barren as I have said, deforested by the people to such a degree that Japan has planted already many millions of trees in an attempt to reforest it; with some cultivable land, only half cultivated; with roads, which are indescribable, they were so bad. I can best describe the general civilization through the currency of the country. The currency of the country was only brass and bronze tokens—the well-known kind with a square hole in the middle. They had no paper money, no silver, and practically no banks. The collection of taxes was such a difficult operation, the roads being bad, that it was necessary to convert its copper money into something that it was possible to transport over the roads, in order that the Government could obtain any final result by the time the money collected in a distant province, drawn by bullock carts over perfectly hopeless roads, reached the capital of the country. There was a Court which must have been barbaric in recent times, whatever it may have been in past centuries. It must have been barbaric as compared with Japan and China, because the palaces can still be seen and the manner in which the people lived can still be understood. Japan having secured possession of Korea apparently moved quickly towards making Korea a part of the Japanese Empire, improving the country rapidly in material things but perhaps considering too lightly the feelings of the Koreans at the loss of their nationality. Korea had a Japanese military governor and military police.

Japan also had a militaristic government, and I will later

on discuss why she had this, and how natural it was that she should have it. She had also at one time a military governor in Manchuria, but had given it up, and manages there now through a civil governor. She has made the same change in Korea since the melancholy things that happened there. The soldier is given orders by petty officers, who are given orders by higher officers, who are given orders by the military governor—orders which can not be discussed but must be obeyed. This sort of power has led to brutal actions, even to massacres, in many parts of the world. There is no defence whatever for what happened in Korea; but there is this to be said about Japan, that, contrary to most nations, she not only admits to some extent what has taken place; she not only immediately ended her militaristic government and replaced it with a civil government; but in a recent public report she makes this statement which I would like to read to you. It will only take a minute, and it will give an idea of a nation admitting its error. Let us try and think of Great Britain or France, or any of the other western countries, making such an admission of a national blunder!

"Thus things went on well for nearly ten years after the annexation, and it was generally believed that they would go on ever so well until mutual affection and common interest had effaced all the distinctions now existing between the two peoples, and thus removed all causes of trouble. From this sweet dream, however, people were wildly awakened, when, in March 1919, disturbances of a rather serious nature broke out in many places in the Peninsula, and though these were speedily suppressed, it became apparent that the Japanese administration in the Peninsula, with all its good intention, had not been kept up with the progress of the times. The Koreans, or at least a section of the Koreans, whose ideals had been undergoing a constant change under the peaceful reign of ten years through education or otherwise, and influenced by the new ideals which the European war begot to the world, were not now satisfied with the more material well-being brought by the annexation. They wanted something more, and though the Japanese authorities had been preparing for a change in their administrative system to conform with this altered state of affairs, they made a mistake in not effecting it early enough. At any rate, the lesson was taken in the best part, and

reforms were speedily introduced into the administrative system of Korea."

I have read this because I do not know where any government has ever admitted its faults as frankly as Japan has thus done. At the present time, Korea has not only re-forested areas and better cultivation of its land but it has an excellent system of banking and currency with several hundred well-established banks. It now has a civil government with the frank admission on the part of the Japanese people that its national aspirations will not be forgotten. Japan will, however, no more permit Korea to be severed from the Japanese Empire, than the British Empire will allow Ireland to be severed!

Now I come back to Japan. Japan is the only place in the East where in any sense the East and West meets. It is the only part of the East that is trying to fashion itself to some extent after western civilization.

Frankly, I think they imitate us too much. I did not hesitate to say when I was there that so far as the ladies were concerned, they were very foolish indeed to adopt European garments. I did not hesitate to say so far as their buildings were concerned, that they could have every kind of invention for the comfort of man in their houses, and yet not give up the beautiful interior and exterior aspects of Japanese architecture; but a large part of the people desire to follow our methods of civilization and wish to be like us.

Japan is the one place where we can merge and can hope to have an ally.

As a sea power, I would like you to remember that the legend in Japan is that the first Emperor was a sea rover, who came there and captured the country, and drove the hairy people who lived there to the north, and that nine hundred years afterwards as many as five hundred Japanese ships invaded Korea, while in the sixth century Japanese ships went up the Amur River to invade Manchuria. Ten centuries later in a time of great naval activity she might have seized partial control of the Eastern Pacific waters. She invaded Korea again, harried China, sent 200 vessels to attack Siam, Luzon, Cochin-China, and Annam. She even built a vessel in European style, and crossed the Pacific to Mexico.

But, frightened as they were of Christian civilization as it came to them through the Jesuits, in 1638, they closed all their ports except to Holland and China, and thus it remained for over two centuries. They not only closed their ports to

others, but they passed legislation that no Japanese ship should be built larger than 150 tons if intended to go to sea. They thus ended themselves for the time as a sea power; but when Perry came in 1853, they repealed the law against sea-going ships and immediately built a ship of European model, and set to work again to make themselves a sea power.

No doubt the visit of Perry was something that has essentially altered Japan but we are apt to forget that in Japan, before Perry came, two of the great clans, the Satsuma and the Chosu were struggling to displace the Tokugawa clan which had been in power two hundred years, and to put the Emperor back on a real throne. For some time after Perry's visit, these two clans were still striving to put their Emperor on the throne, and not for the opening of the land to the western civilization.

The real ruler, however, the Tokugawa Shogun, more or less conscious that isolation was now suicidal and that feudalism was in danger, made a treaty with the United States in 1854 followed by treaties with other countries, thus opening Japan again to the world. Patriotism awoke, foreshadowing great changes; by 1863 the feeling against the foreign barbarians had nearly ceased, the two great clans, the Satsuma and the Chosu, were convinced that Japan must fall in line with the outside world, and an intense desire to study foreign con-

Chosu clans, of whom Prince Ito was one, went abroad to study the outside world. In 1866 the Shogunate ended and the Emperor resumed power as the real ruler. In 1868 he set forth the famous rescript which ends with the injunction to the youth of Japan to go throughout the world seeking knowledge, thus establishing the principle of "Saicho hotan" or "making good one's deficiency by learning the superior points of others."

At a later time, Prince Ito went to the western world to study the systems of government, of administration, of business, society, and otherwise. Let us try to consider what it was natural for him to admire with the limited knowledge that he possibly could have of the western world, and let us remember that what the Japanese desired was to create a government that would sustain the Emperor on his throne and not to create a democracy. Most people think that the Japanese people desired to create some kind of democracy, and that they therefore made a mistake when they decided to imitate Germany. Among the things which Prince Ito went

out to discover was a system of banking. He found in the United States, a beautiful system, so democratic that it could be applied to any nation. Anybody with \$25,000 could start a bank. A child could understand its system, it was so simple. The Prince took the system back to Japan, where they put it in operation, and as we all know they nearly ruined Japan. To the credit of Japan be it said that they not only averted ruin but they created a highly intelligent system of their own, one of the most advanced and varied in its powers in the world. While the United States system would not have permitted branch banking, they not only have highly developed branch systems in Japan but their one great bank for foreign exchanges had more branches outside Japan and spread throughout the world, than any other bank until the recent movements of foreign exchange banks in the western world.

In the same way he sought a system of government, and remember he was not trying to find the plan for a democracy, but a government that would sustain the Emperor. He was also trying to consider how foreign commerce could be developed. When he went to Germany, he found the system of government most suitable. He found commercial systems by which the State could help in the development of foreign trade. He found many things that seemed to be desirable, and I would ask you if they did not seem admirable to many people besides the Japanese, until the present war? The prince, then, and many others carried home ideas gained in the western world and they began to rebuild their society on our models, not realizing perhaps how soon they would have to face the incoming tide of democracy.

If we imagine that she is to stand where she is, that is one thing; but if we consider the progress she has made in the last sixty years, and remember that Japan consists of a people who desire to continue to progress along with the rest of the world; that indeed at present she is wrestling with democracy in its worst aspect, that of universal suffrage, and that she has probably got to struggle through the same troubles as the rest of us before she comes out right, we shall then understand that Japan is on the way, although not quite so far on the way as we are, on the road to democracy.

We can find, amongst the Japanese people, men and women who have exactly the same ideas about society. I know Japanese ladies who could stand up and talk about women's rights just as well as any American or Canadian lady could.

They desire the same things as we do; and the great point for us to consider is—are we going to help them on towards higher ideals, so far as our ideals really are higher, or are we going to stand aloof, and despise them, and treat them as though, being Asiatics, they were essentially different from ourselves?

The evening is late, and I will not attempt to deal with the figures I have here regarding Japan as a sea power; but if you have, any of you, watched what is going on in Japan at the present time, you will find that the great shipping companies are building ships at a tremendous pace, and are making enormous dividends, and they have already built some of the greatest lines of freighters in the world.

They build their own ships. I was at Kobe, in one of the shipyards in Japan, where they can build ten steel ships at a time and finish such in thirty days. It is not as important as Asano's Company, the Toyu Kesian Karsha. At the moment they are building eight new steamers, freighters, with five more ordered, of 8,700 tons each. Their report says that the present dividends of twenty per cent. will, they hope, soon reach thirty per cent., and that they know of no way of making money for the shareholders so good as to build more freight ships.

A still bigger company, the Japan Mail Steamship Company, with a much larger programme, in its reports makes the very naïve remark, that with a programme of one hundred and ten millions of expenditure, they are not building ships to use up the surplus money of the company, but in order to meet the tendencies of shipping throughout the world.

Now, we who possess the greatest navy in the world should remember that nothing apparently can prevent Japan from being the third greatest naval power in the world; and that if for any reason the United States should not carry out its present very ambitious programme, but should fall back, and not continue to develop ship-building, Japan might even pass it.

In the United States, they have to coax men to go to sea and to pay them enormous wages. They leave a land which they think is pleasant with distaste, and they want to be well paid for doing so, while Japan has a natural sea-going people, who, for \$20 a month will go to sea, and enjoy everything connected with such a life.

Again, when we think of Japan we want to remember some of her natural aptitudes. Her art is to a great degree imitated from China; but her people are naturally wonderful crafts-

men. They are highly trained workers in textiles. Some of the largest cotton mills in the world, of course, are there, and we know what they are in the silk trade. They are able workers in stone. They are the best workers in the world in metal on the fine side; what they are in the coarser aspect I do not know. They have lacked raw material, and so they have secured in Russia and China the timber and the steel which their own resources did not provide, and they have thus made themselves strong in this respect.

They have not shown, I think, great power on the side of engineering or as an inventive people; but they have shown wonderful ability as merchants and bankers.

Now these people are stretched along the Pacific near the continent of Asia. Nothing that we can do can alter the fact that they are there; and there will be, as I have said, sometime during the next century, the most notable development of unused energies and powers in that part of Asia which is connected with the Pacific.

Shall we of the two English-speaking powers make friends with these people? Are we to take them into partnership, or go into partnership with them, or are we to hold ourselves aloof? If we can go into partnership with them; if we can have an understanding of what is to be done in Asia, we may partly wipe out the disgrace of the early years of the twentieth century, and all the blood that has deluged Europe, by building up in Asia a civilization and bringing it to people who have suffered for centuries from the conditions that interior Asia knows, and that the coast cities of Asia know.

That is a thing that it is possible for us to do if we can work together; if we can recognize the rights of Japan and the unusual position arising from her propinquity to China and other parts of Asia. If such a movement is headed, as it can readily be headed, by the people whose language we enjoy, the people in whose language almost every public document in Japan is printed; in whose language postage stamps, bills of lading, and public or railroad notices in China are printed; whose language indeed is destined to be the trade language of the world. We are great not only because of the language and of the literature, but because we have been learning the principles of democracy since King Alfred's time; and have been through all the stages from King John and Magna Charta, and the Commonwealth, and the loss of the American Colonies, down to the present time. We who inherit the English language; who have studied its literature;

who have learned the principles of justice and democracy since King Alfred's time through that literature—we are the people who, with Japan, who already admires our civilization, who wants our good regard; if we together can take up this tremendous task of making Asia, from the desolate wastes of Siberia down to the crowded cities like Canton, what it ought to be; what they can be through transportation, through civilization and through proper political ethics—then we shall have done something, which, as I have said just now, will help to wipe out the bloody fields of Europe and the shameful years in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

(March 1st 1920)

Our Relations to the West Indies

BY T. B. MACAULAY.*

Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—It is both a pleasure and a privilege to talk over with you, who are among the leading citizens of Toronto, one of the greatest problems of the Empire; and I appreciate that privilege. The outstanding fact that every person would admit, in connection with the commercial affairs of the Dominion to-day, is the exchange situation. It is upon everybody's tongue; it enters into every department of business, and has effects that we little dreamed of a year or two ago.

I propose to approach this question from the exchange standpoint. Here we have, in the United States, the pound sterling selling at \$3.40. In other words, New York exchange is at a premium in London of over forty per cent., forty to forty-five per cent. In other words, it takes in London \$1.40 to buy \$1.00 in New York—assuming that the pound sterling is in reality worth \$486.23. Now, we in Canada occupy a midway position. The pound sterling is worth about \$3.90; and, on the other hand, New York funds are at a premium of sixteen per cent. Look at it in another way, you see New York funds at a premium of sixteen per cent., and Canadian funds at a premium of twenty-five per cent. in the Old Country. The two just make up,—even up,—because we occupy a midway position that links in precisely with the New York exchange.

Now, in the first place, to what is that due? It is a vital and serious problem. It is increasing the price we pay for everything that comes from the United States, and it is restricting our export trade. What is it all about? I have heard professors of political economy say it is due to the inflation of the Canadian dollar, that our Canadian dollar is not worth as much as the American dollar. Well, let us look at that for a moment.

* Besides being President of the Sun Life Assurance Company, and a distinguished member of the Chartered Accountants Association of Great Britain and the United States, Mr. Macaulay has long taken a great interest in the advancement of trade with the West Indies, on which subject he is an outstanding authority.

Suppose something unexpected happened and Americans were to come to Canada and buy \$200,000,000 of pulpwood and paper; and our own Government should go to New York and borrow that amount, what would happen? Immediately the Canadian dollar would jump up close to, if not right to, par with the American dollar. That shows that it is not, except possibly to a small extent, a question of the depreciation in the value of the Canadian dollar. It is a question of trade. Exchange is absolutely and primarily a question of trade. Trade, in its ultimate analysis, is barter. The farmer who sells his wheat nominally for gold doesn't want the gold, but what it will buy. Gold is merely a chip in the game of bridge. (My friend, Mr. Raney, says I should have said poker.)

I think that will enable us to get at the real value of gold. It is a medium of exchange. It is not the end. Now, why has this situation arisen? It has arisen because our people, and the people of the Motherland, have for a very long time been buying from the United States very much larger values of goods than they have been selling to that country. "But," you say, "that had been going on for a long time. Prior to the war we were buying from the United States as we are doing now, buying chiefly from them and selling chiefly to the Mother Country—and we had no exchange problem. What is the explanation?" It is this—prior to the war, the Mother Country and its citizens had enormous amounts of American investments which had been accumulated during the previous century. Up to 1853 Great Britain exported much larger amounts than she imported. That excess of exports and the earnings of her shipping and banking—she was the banking centre of the world—had made Britain the great international money lender of the world; and her people had huge amounts of American securities, as well as securities of other countries. Therefore, when her people bought from the United States larger amounts than they were shipping to that country, there was a large amount of interest on these securities accruing in New York which could be placed against these purchases. If the interest alone was not sufficient, there was principal that could be sold; and everything could be kept even.

Now, all that is changed. During the war, in order to raise the finances necessary to save the United States as well as the Empire, the Mother Country borrowed huge amounts in the United States and sold the great bulk of her liquid

American investments. Now, there is not that huge amount of interest accruing every year in New York to pay for purchases there, and the liquid securities that could be sold have largely passed into American ownership. Now, the Mother Country has not enough accruing to her in New York to pay for her own purchases there, to say nothing of helping Canada.

We in Canada were vitally interested in these American investments of the Mother Country because, prior to the war, the way our sales was financed was as follows: we bought chiefly from the United States and we sold chiefly to England, and in payment of her debts to us England gave us drafts on New York, which we at once turned over to New York in payment of our purchases from that country. It was a three cornered arrangement, but now that arrangement is no longer possible because the Mother Country can no longer give drafts on New York, even for what she purchases herself. Well, what is going to happen? The question is, what is going to be the end of this mounting rate of exchange? It amounts to this: there is an adverse balance of trade. When Canada or the Mother Country buy from the United States more than our shipments there this excess of imports over exports has to be paid for in some other way than in barter. Trade is barter and barter comes down to a question of paying for goods you get. You have to pay for what you get in other goods, or in securities, or mortgages, or something of that kind. The Mother Country is being drained more and more every day of her remaining American securities, and your own Canadian securities are passing across the border line in a steady stream to meet your excess of purchases from the United States. Now the Mother Country has not an inexhaustible supply of these securities. The great bulk of them went during the war, and those remaining are passing out every day.

It was necessary to stimulate the owners of these securities to sell; or, if they were inactive securities, it was necessary to stimulate American purchasers and investors to buy; and the rate of exchange, which is a premium on American exchange so far as England is concerned, and a discount on British Exchange so far as the United States is concerned,—is a means of letting English people know that if they have an American security they can now get \$140 for what was looked upon as worth \$100. Naturally, they sell. Take the case of Canada and our Canadian Government bond. Take a bond

selling at par in Toronto. In order to tempt the purchaser on the other side the exchange enables the American to get that bond at \$850 instead of \$1,000.

The premium or discount, as the case may be, is the way in which the laws of supply and demand try to right themselves. It works in another way. It stimulates not only the export of securities, but the export of goods. It tends to restrict the import of goods. It allows nature to work. I have sometimes said that I would not have any objection at all if the premium on American exchange went up to twenty per cent.—I said that, I might add, when it was at eight or ten per cent., and I didn't expect it to go to twenty per cent.—because it would automatically tend to restrict our purchases from the United States and make us more self-centred. It would automatically encourage our purchases from the Mother Country, because our money would go so much further there than in the United States; and it would automatically encourage the people of Great Britain to buy from us, because for every \$100 of value they would get from the United States they would get \$116 from us.

It also tends to encourage even American manufacturers to manufacture in Canada for their export trade. When I was in Hamilton the other day, I had a little incident of how that was working. One man said to me, "I know of an order of at least \$100,000 that, year after year, went to the United States; but now it has been transferred by the American concern to its Canadian branch because of the exchange situation, and will now be manufactured in Canada." The rate of exchange is nature's way of righting itself—it represents the laws of supply and demand at work. But there is one disadvantage that I cannot look upon with equanimity. While all this is a benefit to Canada in a way, is building up Canada and making Canada more self-centered and uniting her more closely to the rest of the Empire, before that is accomplished a terribly large amount of Canadian securities will have gone across the line; and I cannot view with equanimity the fact that Americans are going to hold the purse strings to such an extent that we will become a debtor nation. Therefore, the exchange situation has desirable features and undesirable features.

Well, is there a cure? The only cure, gentlemen, is that we shall buy just as little as we can from the United States and just as much as possible from the Mother Country and the rest of the Empire. There is no other cure. Every man who does anything to switch a Canadian order from the United

States to the Mother Country does a patriotic service to Canada. He does it for two reasons. In the first place, he is giving money to the Mother Country which she can use in purchasing from us; and he is helping to maintain the exchange rate—which is vital to us, because if exchange were to collapse so that the Mother Country could not pay for our sales to her, what would become of us? What would become of our farmers, of their wheat and flour, their pork and butter and cheese, and those things? What would become of our manufacturing if our industries could not export? It would be a sorry day for Canada, for every class in Canada, if our exports were to collapse; and they would collapse if sterling exchange collapsed. The lower sterling exchange falls, the more handicaps does our export trade have, although it hasn't yet come to the point of being stopped. In the next place, the man in purchasing from the Mother Country has avoided adding to the adverse balance of trade with the United States, and avoided adding to the premium on American funds—which we don't want any higher than it really must be.

But now we come to another question. I hear some of you say "It is all very well to say 'Buy from the Mother Country,' but we can't. There are only certain things the Mother Country can supply; and, even of things she can in normal times supply, she cannot give everything we want at the present time." Most of these things are true. The Mother Country had five years of war, during which all her industries were put at war work. The Mother Country has great leeway to make up; and, besides that, she has starving people close at hand wanting everything she can supply. The Mother Country is taxed to meet the demands on her for export goods. It is true that we cannot get all we would like, but it is coming. It won't be long before she will be able to give us something.

But, gentlemen, there are things the Mother Country cannot give us. There are things we purchase in the United States which cannot be bought in the Mother Country. Can Britain give us cotton, or sugar, or tropical goods of any kind? No. We have been getting those things from the United States. If we must get them from any place else, we must not look to the Mother Country, but to other parts of the Empire. It has been well said, and a truer thing never was said, that the British Empire within her boundaries has enough raw material and resources to make her absolutely independent and by far the most prosperous nation in the world.

Take, for example, the question of cotton. At present we

get nearly everything from the United States. But think of the possibilities of the Empire. There is a good deal of cotton grown in the West Indies,—in Egypt; but just think of the possibilities of Africa. We should not have a shortage of cotton if the British Empire's resources were developed as they ought to be developed, and they are not developed because of the foolish trade policy of all parts of the Empire up to the present time. We have treated each other almost as if we were strangers, instead of partners in one Imperial family. I do not want to get into any discussion of trade affairs, but, while that is true to a large extent of Canada, I like to think that we led the way in giving an Imperial preference. But the Mother Country, and to a large extent all parts of the Empire, have just looked to their own little local interests and have failed to grasp the vision of the Empire as a whole; and we have not been co-operating as we ought to have done.

I will give you a little illustration. I am now coming to the question of the West Indies. Take British Guiana. The latest figures I have for that colony are those of 1917. In that year, British Guiana sold to the United States, £116,000 of goods, and she bought from the United States, £843,000. She sold to Canada, £862,000 (mostly sugar), and she bought from Canada, £350,000. For every dollar that the United States bought from British Guiana, British Guiana bought from the United States, \$7.27; and for every dollar Canada bought from her she bought from Canada, forty-two cents.

Now take the figures for the British West Indies combined, using again the figures for 1917. I will take their imports of things that Canada can supply and mention just what amounts came from Canada in that year:

Breadstuffs: They imported \$7,000,000; of which \$3,875,000 was from Canada, or 55 per cent.

Fish: They imported \$2,070,000; \$1,287,000 from Canada, or 62 per cent.

Butter, cheese, etc.: They imported \$970,000; \$127,000 from Canada, or 13 per cent.

Soaps: They imported \$900,000; and from Canada, \$22,000; or 2½ per cent.

Paper: They imported \$500,000; and from Canada, \$103,000, or 20 per cent.

I want to tell you about that last item. I mentioned these facts before the Canadian Manufacturers' Association; and, in talking to paper manufacturers, these facts about paper got home. As a result, several paper fellows got together and

they are going to capture every dollar of that paper business for Canada. That is the right spirit. That is the way we have to go about it. But let me continue:

Coal: They imported \$2,850,000; and from Canada, \$147,000, or 5 per cent.

Meats: (for Canada is a meat-producing country). They imported \$1,700,000; and from Canada, only \$12,600, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent. (I wonder what our Ontario Government thinks about that.)

Lard: The imported \$520,000; and from Canada, \$235 or $\frac{1}{20}$ of one per cent.

From all these goods combined, goods which Canada could give as well as the United States, they imported \$35,883,000—and Canada supplied just \$7,059,000, or a little over 20 per cent. Gentlemen, doesn't that show what enormous possibilities there are down in the West Indies for our people?

Now, let us see what we can do for them. Our imports in the same year, of sugar, molasses, cocoa, coffee, rice, tropical fruits, and other things which the West Indies can supply—were \$108,000,000 and we only took \$22,500,000 of that from the West Indies. We imported \$108,000,000; and \$86,000,000 of that we bought from other countries.

Gentlemen, here are two parts of the Empire, two members of one big Imperial family; and they are dealing with stranger countries instead of with each other. If we look at the United States, we see how they are situated. Why has the United States got such a great advantage over us? Because the United States has everything she needs to have within her own boundaries,—not merely northern territory, but southern territory, and some tropical territory as well. Porto Rico, the Phillipines, Haiti, Cuba, (which practically belongs to her)—in all of that territory, she is tropical; and her people do not have to go outside of their own boundaries to get almost anything. Contrast with that, Canada. Canada is a country of enormous possibilities, but Canada is a country that is northern and entirely northern. For everything we have to buy of a tropical character we have to go outside. On the other hand, take the West Indies. The West Indies have great possibilities; but they are, in their turn, tropical. For everything northern they have to go outside.

Now, if Canada for her southern purchases goes to the Southern states; and the West Indies for their northern purchases go to the Northern states—we will both roll up in the United States a tremendous indebtedness and make burdens

for each other; whereas, by co-operating and each buying from the other, we would not have that. Canada ought to buy, as far as possible, everything she wants that is tropical from the West Indies; and the West Indies should buy everything they want from Canada or the Mother Country. For nine-tenths of their needs, the West Indies must go to Canada or the United States; and if they do not get them from Canada they will get them from the United States.

Can you imagine New York and California treating each other as Canada and the West Indies do? Can you imagine the United States allowing Florida to import Canadian flour instead of northern flour? Can you imagine such a thing? Yet we in the Empire are going along on those lines. If we are going to remedy things, we will have to change right over.

Now the question comes; granted that the West Indies and Canada can co-operate and help each other, how is it going to be done? We already have a twenty per cent. preference treaty which applies to the Eastern group of Islands—with the exception of Jamaica and Honduras, which are not parties to the agreement, but to which Canada voluntarily extends it without getting any return. But for that existing treaty, British trade would by this time have been almost wiped out in the Eastern group of islands. The United States would have got everything. The name of Sir George Foster is associated with that treaty; and, after he is dead and gone, this one thing will be remembered for centuries to his credit. That treaty has done a great deal; and it is very noteworthy that in two articles where it has been the most effective,—flour in the West Indies, and sugar in Canada,—there is a special exception by which the preference is greater than twenty per cent. It seems to me, the first step is to greatly increase that preference.

Last Spring, or ten months ago, I took a trip right down through the West Indies, right down as far as British Guiana. I addressed Chambers of Commerce in various places, and I was received royally. It was pointed out first by the chairman of the Canada-West Indies League; and all through the Islands, when I talked about closer trade relations, I suggested that the preference be increased from twenty, to fifty, per cent. Everywhere, that idea was received with enthusiasm. I think that idea is going to come to pass soon, even if nothing more comes. The question was raised at one place—afterwards I always raised it myself—what are we going to do for revenue if we increase the preference? The average tariff is

twelve per cent., and if we give a preference of fifty per cent. we cannot stand the loss of money. Well, I promptly told that meeting "Gentlemen, there are two ways in which you can give a preference of fifty per cent. One way is to cut the present tariff rate down from twelve to six per cent. for the preference rate, and get into financial trouble at once. The other way is to let the twelve per cent. remain the preferential rate and make it twenty-four per cent.—double it for everybody else. Then, you won't have any trouble regarding revenue, and you will give us a preference that will seem worth while. If we give you fifty per cent., we are giving you fifty per cent. of the Canadian tariff. Do you think it fair to give us a preference of fifty per cent. of a twelve per cent. tariff?" Everywhere the idea was taken up.

I have already said that the British Empire needs development. It has enormous resources, but those resources need development. One of the places with great resources that is most in need of development, is British Guiana. The Islands are fairly well developed. The Barbadoes have a population of 1,100 to the square mile. It is densely populated. But when you come to British Guiana you find a place of 90,000 square miles with 300,000 people—or three to the mile. Forty-five per cent. of the population is Hindu, the rest is nearly all colored. You can divide the country into three sections. The coast land is low lying, and most of it would be under water at high tides of the year. The water is kept out by dikes; and it has an exceedingly rich alluvial soil, capable of producing enormous quantities of sugar and rice. British Guiana is rapidly coming to the front as a rice-producing country. Coming into the interior, you get a dense forest section with valuable tropical timber; and, more important still, it can, when cleared, give just as rich tropical products as any part of the world. Then, when you come to the southwestern corner, you come to something strange. You come to a great prairie section, with grass capable of sustaining great herds of cattle—cattle that would not come into competition with ours, but would be of great value in serving the Mother Country and other places.

As I have said, we want to have that country developed; and those people want to be developed. One man down there said to me, "The people of British Guiana would almost sell their souls to get their hinterland developed." It is not a white man's country; but it is capable of sustaining, not 300,000, but 3,000,000 people. What would it mean to us to have

3,000,000 people producing tropical things we need; and 3,000,000 people consuming the northern products our farmers sell and our manufacturers turn out? One of the things they want is a railway to open up all that country. Ten millions would be more than enough—but we don't need to go into that at present. Another big thing is, that the "savannah" land does not stop at the border of Guiana—because it extends up into Venezuela and Brazil. It is land that can be commercially annexed. While it would remain, politically, Brazilian or Venezuelan, it could be made commercially part of British Guiana by a reciprocity treaty or a commercial treaty.

(Mr. Macaulay referred to some of the difficulties in the way of political union that would bring the West Indies into the Dominion.)

But isn't it possible (he continued) to get some other arrangement than political union? I think the case of Porto Rico is an instructive one. Porto Rico has, since the year 1901, had absolute commercial union with the United States. There is no duty on imports or exports between Porto Rico and the United States. Commercially, Porto Rico is as much American as they are in the state of Florida. The full American tariff applies to everything that comes into Porto Rico from any other part of the world, but the proceeds don't come to the United States. They go to the Porto Rican local legislature. Porto Rico has its own local government, with moderate restrictions—because the Governor and other officials are appointed by the President of the United States. She looks after her local affairs, but Porto Rico has no voice of any kind whatever in the control of the United States,—no members of Congress, and no Senators. Now, from the commercial standpoint, that has several advantages. I do not believe that, if some such system was followed with the West Indies and Canada, it would be necessary to transfer the Government from Great Britain to Canada. It is a commercial arrangement we want at the present time, and nothing else,—at the present at any rate.

In 1901, Porto Rico exported \$8,000,000; and in 1918 she exported \$74,000,000. In those seventeen years her exports increased nine times. Her imports in 1901 were \$9,000,000; and in 1918 they were \$63,000,000. Her imports increased eight times; and, of that \$63,000,000, \$59,000,000 came from the United States and only \$4,000,000 from all the rest of the world. Porto Rico has become enormously prosperous under that arrangement, and Porto Rico has done her full share in

making the United States prosperous. Any arrangement that we could get with British Guiana and other places would indeed be one that would make Canada prosperous, and make them prosperous as well.

I do not think there is anything to be gained by tying ourselves up to any one theory or idea of how we can get closer relations with these colonies. I have my idea. My friend Mr. Crow has his idea. Some fellow over in England may have a different one, and some other fellow down there still another one. How are we going to decide? I think we should bend our energies to get all these different colonies to send deputations up to Canada, where they could sit down with representatives of Canada and take weeks or months to thresh out the problems that arise; and then make some definite recommendation that appeals to them as wise. Then, that will be a matter for our government, their governments, and the British government to consider. I may tell you that, not merely the people in the West Indies think cordially of this idea of closer trade relations, but the Colonial Office as well.

(In closing Mr. Macaulay mentioned the fact that a gathering of Chambers of Commerce for the Islands was now in session discussing everything relating to trade relations; and that Mr. Frank Keefer, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of Trade and Commerce, was attending.)

(March 8th, 1920.)

The British Empire

BY PROFESSOR WRONG.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is a pleasure for me to have once more the honor of speaking to the Canadian Club. I believe the last time I spoke here was in the early days of the war, and we have all lived long lives during the intervening years. The subject I am to speak upon is hardly my own choice; but it fitted in admirably with the subject I should have chosen. I am to explain the words of someone else; what General Smuts meant when he said that "the British Empire ceased to exist on August 4, 1914."

What the General meant was, of course, that at that date a new force within the British Empire became apparent; that the old form of organization had ceased to be adequate; and that some new relation of the various states within the Empire had become necessary. It is, perhaps, fitting that the remarks of General Smuts should be discussed here in Canada. It has been in Canada during the last one hundred and fifty years that the political development has taken place, which has been followed in other parts of the Empire.

I think one might say without any forcing of analogies that the development of Canada divides itself quite naturally into seven ages. We speak of the seven ages of man and there are really seven quite distinct phases of development in our history. But, unlike the ages of men, they are not steps towards decay but towards greater vigor. We began our record, as a British country, in the form of a conquered state. Canada was conquered as a result of war, and taken over and ruled as a conquered country; and the first age of our development was that of Military Despotism in which we were ruled by a military Governor under Royal proclamation, without any vestige of control of our own affairs. That period lasted a comparatively short time; and it was followed by what one might call the age of benevolent despotism.

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This benevolent despotism was created by the bill which we know as the Quebec Act. When this first Act of Parliament that affected the government of Canada was passed in 1774, it was believed by those who framed the Act that no Britons, except a few misguided people, would ever think of settling within the frontiers of Canada; because at that time Great Britain held the regions further south with better climate and what was believed to be more fertile land. And the Act of 1774 made great concessions to the French, which I myself do not regret; it gave them their civil law, and the old privileges of their Church under the French régime. Since it was expected that the population would always be prevailingly French, it seemed wise to go as far as possible in concession. The despotism was benevolent for it was extremely well meaning. The Governors were in sympathy with the French; and I, for my part, do not think the French have any great cause for complaint over the treatment they received after the Conquest.

But soon there was a reversal of the expectations of those who framed the Quebec Act. There came the American Revolution, and it is quite true that on the Fourth of July, 1776, the British Empire ceased to exist. I cannot controvert that statement by explaining it in the way that I can explain away General Smuts' statement. The older British Empire literally ceased to exist. It was broken up from that time. But from the breakage of the old system came the migration of the loyal people who found their way here to Canada, and who were determined to create a state in harmony with their own political training and their own political ideas. The site of the City of Toronto where we stand was then, technically, a part of Quebec; for the Province of Quebec extended far westward and included the whole region north of the Ohio River as far as the Mississippi. It makes one's mouth water to think of that Province of Quebec. From a part of it have been formed no less than five States of the American Union.

Our loyalist ancestors came here and found the French Civil law not actually enforced, but none the less the law of the country. They found the Church of the French protected and privileged by the law. Naturally they desired to found a political system in harmony with their own ideas, and hence we have the third age. What was left of the old province of Quebec and had not been added to the United States, was divided into the two provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada. One of them, it was expected, would remain French, the other would be peopled chiefly by settlers of English origin.

Two separate elected legislatures were set up and we have what one may call normal colonial government, half a free government and half a government under the control of the Colonial Office in London. That third age endured for half a century, much longer than either of the previous ages had endured.

It was found to have many defects. It is true of political development that you cannot have a people half free and half unfree. During those fifty years we developed here conceptions of Responsible Government, of controlling our own affairs, which, in the end, led to such discontent that armed rebellion took place at the end of the period, and resulted in the beginning of the fourth age. This was that of an enforced union between the French and the English in Canada. The French as a whole were not consulted. Only a few people in Lower Canada were consulted. They gave their approval; and the French were forced into political union, under a single legislature, with the English in Canada. The two elements were, for the most part, strangers to each other. The outlook was hardly promising. But Canada improved. It was not very long before she had about three million people. You cannot play with three million people. The United States had only two-and-a-half million when it became a separate nation. There was bound to be in Canada some settlement of political relationships with Great Britain which involved greater responsibility on the part of the people of Canada, for it was soon seen that these three million people were going to look after themselves.

In 1858 came what I should call the fifth age of our development, when Canada took it upon herself to establish her fiscal independence; to put on duties at her discretion for revenue or to protect industries, and in doing so, to consider chiefly the interests of the Canadian people. There were some pretty sharp protests against the policy of fiscal independence. If you read the comments of the London Times about 1860 you will find some very unpleasant things said about Canada. I have been amused a little at a protest made by the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield against Canada's fiscal independence. Great Britain had been enjoying Free Trade for some fifteen years; and the people of Sheffield and the Colonial Secretary of the time were surprised and shocked at the idea that Canada should turn its back on Free Trade and impose a tariff. There is a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield in which those ardent Imperialists say they find it actually true

that industries are growing up in Upper and Lower Canada through which the Canadian people can satisfy their own needs in respect to cutlery; and they prayed that the Imperial government should see that this sort of thing shall be stopped. There you have the fifth age of development.

Then we come to the sixth age. It is based on the creation of a Federal constitution, which very soon included all the British territories stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Now, the feature of this constitution, the one under which we are now living, the most striking is that, unlike all the previous constitutions, it was made in Canada. It was the first of our constitutions that was shaped by our own people, by our own hand. True, it was modified in London, but the modifications were so slight as hardly to matter; and in 1867 we came under the provisions of a constitution which expressed the desires and ideals of the Canadian people themselves. Had the framers not been checked in London in respect to one thing we should now have the Kingdom of Canada. In London this name, proposed by Canada, was objected to, because it was thought that the United States, which was in rather an irritated condition with respect to troubles during the Civil War, would not like the idea of a Kingdom on its north frontier. And in deference to the United States—I suspect the United States hardly gave a thought to it—the name of the “Kingdom of Canada” was changed to the name “Dominion of Canada,” under which we now exist.

I am going to make a sporting offer to the members of the Canadian Club. If any one can produce authentic testimony as to the origin of the name “Dominion” of Canada, I do not know how much I am prepared to subscribe for a reward, but I will subscribe something liberal, and ask my friends at the table here to join me to make it something worth while. I don’t know where the name “Dominion” of Canada came from, and I have never heard any explanation which seemed to me authentic.

Our sixth age involved complete domestic self-government. It did not involve, on the face of it, any control of foreign affairs, but that soon began to develop. We acquired the power to negotiate our own commercial treaties. And then there came the seventh and last age on the 4th of August 1914; when by some mysterious impulse which, I confess, I do not wholly understand; the whole British people thought alike and acted alike, and began to take their part in the great struggle. There is an English sonnet by Blanes White, of which the motive is,

that if a man had always lived in the brightness of the sunlight, he could never have known the mysteries and wonders of the darkness, could not have known the spaces dotted by the stars, and how great is this universe about us. And it seems to me that the British Empire in some way learned through darkness something of the meaning of its own life. We saw things in those days that we hardly knew existed, vistas which we hardly realized were within the range of our own life. Out of the darkness of those trying days and of the experiences of the years that followed came, I think, some new meaning of the union of the British peoples.

There are two things that came during the war which profoundly affected the status of the British peoples. The first was the need of some organized method of getting together to confront the common enemy, and out of it came the Imperial War Cabinet. The Imperial War Cabinet was an attempt to bring together in council in London, with some measure of authority in respect to action, the vital leaders of the whole British commonwealth. And the Imperial War Cabinet did this work extremely well. The more I hear of what it did and the way in which it did it; the more I admire the wisdom, the restraint, the insight, which our leaders showed in those terrible days of crisis. But the very name, Imperial War Cabinet, shows its limitations. It was brought together for a specific purpose. It planned for the war. It had no direct governing power. It could only make requests of the individual states of the Empire and act through existing constitutional machinery. But the Imperial War Cabinet did frame a war policy for the whole British Empire; and it framed it, as I said, extremely well. The Imperial War Cabinet developed defects. It took away from the activities of political life at home, the leaders, the prime ministers, who were in London just at the time when their presence was most critically needed in their own country. And so the Imperial War Cabinet has not given us the foundation upon which we can base the future organization of the peoples who compose the British Commonwealth. It has not failed—it did its work, but we are still waiting for a solution on that side of the union of our peoples.

Now, the other thing that has come out of the war was the international recognition at Paris, on the demand or request of the Prime Minister of Canada, of the various self-governing states of the British Empire as nations with full right and authority to act as nations. Out of that came representation

of Canada in the League of Nations; and out of that came also our representation in the International Labor Conference, which has held its first session at Washington. Now, difficulties have arisen, and the difficulty of which I am to speak to-day is the difficulty that comes from the United States in respect to the six members who are to sit in the League of Nations representing the six great states of the British Empire.

The letter which Lord Grey sent to the London press, and which was printed on January 31 of this year, is quite uncompromising. In order that there may be no mistake as to what Lord Grey said, I quote his words: "The self-governing Dominions are full members of the League. They will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualification whatever of that right." Now, there you are. Let us in these days express no word that is likely to add to the irritations which will come, no matter how careful we may be. There are two things that I should like Canadians to remember as in some way explaining the real difficulties felt in the United States. The United States has admitted that we are, fiscally, one people, that the different states of the British Empire may make all the trade arrangements they like among themselves and that such preference as they may give to each other will not be regarded as unfair discrimination. The United States will not demand concessions from Canada, for instance, because Canada chooses to give concessions to Great Britain. This is an extremely valuable admission, and involves, on the part of the United States, recognition of the British Commonwealth as a unit. Further, the British Commonwealth is a unit in respect to making war. If Great Britain is at war we are at war. We cannot get away from that, and we do not want to get away from it. We must admit that in those two things the outside nations have agreed to look upon the British Commonwealth as a single state.

Then, further, we must remember that in the United States there is a long tradition of antagonism to Great Britain. I have been obliged to go into the history of the American Revolution; and I have been astonished by the bitterness, as early as in 1775, of men like Washington and Franklin in respect to the supposed tyranny of Great Britain. Now, when Franklin and Washington said things then, they said them also to a distant posterity; and in the United States the point of view of Washington and Franklin and others has become an inherited conviction that Britain is always greedy and selfish. We must make some allowances in respect to public opinion in

the United States when we stand before the world, now as six and now as one; and we must be patient in trying to get the world to understand that curious paradox. It is difficult to understand that this British Commonwealth can after all be composed of free nations, each of them self-controlling and each of them playing its part with its own strength in the union that has been called heretofore the British Empire. And so, while standing without compromise on the utterance of Lord Grey,—I ask the members of the Canadian Club and the Canadian press to say no word that will add any needless irritation to a problem that is extremely difficult and the solution of which means a great deal for the well-being of the world.

I have been told by persons who, I think, know the situation in the United States, that it is not involved in their opposition that we, for instance, shall be forced to withdraw from membership of the League of Nations. The United States only claims that it will not be bound by anything done in which the British peoples have had more than one vote. In a word, they reserve the right to consider on its own merits any question in which they have not had the same number of votes. The reservation affects the United States only. I am told that those who are demanding this reservation at Washington are quite willing to admit that it binds only the United States, and does not bind those who are already full members of the League. We must have patience. The American people have shown in the past that, while they act slowly, they usually arrive at the right decision, and I hope they will not now disappoint us.

Now let me in the few moments that remain turn to discuss some points in respect to our own outlook that result from that saying of General Smuts. If the British Empire ceased to exist on the 4th of August 1914, then a highly centralized organization in respect, at any rate, to defence and foreign affairs passed away. We used to hear boasts about the bigness of the British Empire. I have never myself liked the picture of the British Empire as a colossus with its head under the pale sky of the north, its body basking in the sunshine of the tropics and its feet planted solidly on the lands of the Southern Seas. There is no virtue in mere size; and the British Empire, when it ceased to exist on August 4, 1914, was divided into a number of states, each of them self-acting, each of them charged with its own responsibilities. The British Commonwealth has become, if one may say so, a Team of

Nations, and what Canada has to look out for in the future is that it shall throw its full weight in the team, and not let its traces become slack. And I sometimes wonder if, in the midst of our exultance at being a young nation, we are not forgetting some of the responsibilities that go with full nationhood. There is a question of taking our share in the defence of the commonwealth, in helping to protect the weaker peoples of the earth, and trying to develop that self-government which we ourselves enjoy. These are things that go with the conception of being a nation. It is this responsibility which is now come home to us; and we cannot evade it, but must confront it under this new conception of our standing.

Then, going with this, is the self-discipline that any person who has attained to the discretion of manhood must acquire. I heard the other day a striking illustration from a banker of the lack of discipline among our own people. A trader in a small way had come to him to ask him for a loan of a thousand dollars. You know with what gentlemanly persistence a banker asks what the money is for, and when this banker pressed the point, rather shamefacedly in the end the customer said the truth was that his wife said she must have a fur coat. All I would say is that the case indicates a certain lack of self-discipline. As a nation, clothed as we are with vast responsibilities, I think each of us must be confronted with the problem of self-discipline in connection with personal expenditure, personal habits, and all those things which help to make us factors in weakening or strengthening the life of a nation. If we are to discharge the real functions of a nation we must learn the stern rigor of self-control and of industry which will help to equip our nation with the things that it ought to have.

Just one other thing and I am done. Let us get rid, in our national life, of what I may call the Tyranny of Fear. Let us not be afraid! Were we afraid in 1914? Yes, and no. Afraid because we saw the awfulness of the situation with which we were confronted; but yet not afraid, because we were ready to face it and see it through. I hear voices that say we have been disillusioned, that out of this war are not to come the good things which we promised ourselves. I call that, the Tyranny of Fear. I say that the nation that can fight through the kind of struggle through which we have come, and win just by grim tenacity and power to hang on, can also confront the problems of peace.

And so, let us not believe, as craven voices are to-day asking us to believe, that man is at heart a base animal, a poor

degraded creature, and that human nature is so weak that we need never expect to build anything sure on that foundation. People say human nature does not change. I do not want it to change. I am not aware that any kind of nature changes its fundamental qualities. What I do want, in respect to man, is to believe that there are in him the noble elements which, when appealed to, will respond and will enable him to play his part worthily in the drama of life. Let us confront our problems as a free state united with other free states. Let us co-operate in the upbuilding of a union that is unprecedented in the history of the world. We have a tradition of liberty that no other people has. Let us apply its principles and build up here in Canada something that is worthy of our past; something that will in the future help us to protect the weak, while at the same time we are finding our own best development.

(March 15, 1920.)

The Gipsy People

BY CAPTAIN GISPY PAT SMITH.*

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen;—I feel like a fish on dry land in this sort of meeting. I always feel shy when speaking to an audience of men. I think I am shy speaking to men because I am not a married man; and I feel there is something I have not taken part in, something in life I have not seen, and that I have no right to speak to men at all. I feel shyer, of course, when speaking to women.

I want to speak just for a little while, as long as I am allowed, about the tribes of Gipsies there are today in the world—a distinct race of people with distinct language and customs and religion, practically unknown to the world to-day. I say “practically,” because there are such men as Borrow—if you have not read his books on Gipsies and Gipsy life I would strongly recommend him. Such enterprising writers as he have written the Gipsies up in fantastic stories, not strictly true, but you will find a good deal in these stories that is true to Gipsy life.

In *Romany Rye* he has had the help of some Gipsy who even went so far as to give Borrow some of the Gipsy language. Many a man and woman comes to me in my meetings and says he or she is a gipsy, and when I speak to them in the Gipsy tongue they look at me in stupefaction. They are not Gipsies; or if they are, they are what we call “half and half,” neither one nor the other. I don’t know what to call myself in England; because in England I can be an Englishman, because my father was born in an English tent; or an Irishman, because my mother was born in Londonderry in the north of Ireland; or a Scotchman, because I was born in a Gipsy tent in Glasgow. That is Scotch enough. And soon I will be able to say I am half American as well, because on the 29th of next month I am marrying a New York girl.

*Gipsy “Pat” Smith is of pure gipsy origin, and is the younger of two well-known evangelists of that name. He served throughout the War in the British Army, reaching the rank of Acting-Major.

A lady from the Telegram who came to me for a story—and I want to thank the press of Toronto for the help they have given me; they have been very friendly; I have spoken to 40,000 people in this city and we owe it entirely to the aid of the press—the reporter said the only thing she had against me was that I was not marrying a Canadian or a Scotch girl. “Well,” I said, “I am doing much better than that. If I married a Canadian or a Scotch girl, why, that would be no extension to the British Empire. But if I marry a New York girl, why, that is one more for us.” Then, of course, you never know what might happen in the days to come.

The Gipsy, then, is a person who is distinct. If I were to answer the question, “What is a Gipsy?” I would say that a Gipsy is a person of Romany blood, with Gipsy upbringing in a Gipsy caravan. But you know being brought up in a Gipsy tent and living in a caravan all your days no more makes a man a Gipsy than a man going into a garage makes him a motor car. A person who is a Gipsy is one who is of Gipsy blood. And there are hundreds of thousands of people travelling in caravans, brought up in tents, and have spent all their days in tents, but they are not Gipsies.

There are the aristocrats of the roads; the full-blooded Gipsies. Every Gipsy boy and girl is taught from the moment they can understand their mother’s tongue,—English, German, Spanish, or whatever it is—they are taught that they come from royal blood, and that every person in the world, including President Wilson, is a very low person compared to a Gipsy. And so, the Gipsy has quite a distinct standing and is a sort of aristocrat of the road. Then he is an aristocrat because of the life he lives, the ideals he has.

And then we have the Gorgio travellers! That’s what we call you people; a person who is not a Gipsy and not as clever as most Gipsies are, he is a Gorgio. And then there are what we call the Gorgio travellers, people who find it much cheaper and much easier to live in tents than in houses, and travel around the country selling some things. They are not able, like the Gipsies, to tell fortunes, and are not so clever in telling lies. The real difference is that they are not of Gipsy origin, and these are the classes which you often come across who speak freely about Gipsy life. But you will never get a real Gipsy, except a person like myself, to give you any idea of what their home life is like, or what the habits of his people are. He keeps himself entirely apart with his own people.

And then there is the third class. These are the lower fifth or the bottom tenth, or whatever you term them, called tinkers, who go about mending pots and pans. These are the lower class Gipsies, for you will find an upper set and a bottom or submerged class among the Gipsies just as you have in other peoples' lives to-day.

Somebody asked me if I were any relation to the older Gipsy Smith. Of course, a man who is a Gipsy and has lived in a tent, his people call him Gipsy So-and so. They never call him by another name. For instance, an old man sixty years of age, who comes from a different part to what I do, is called Gipsy Rodney because his name is Rodney Smith. When he started out all his friends called him Gipsy Smith. He has gone all over the world, is one of the world's greatest preachers and has been a great blessing to man.

And there are a good many Smiths in the world. Like the old lady who saw the sign, "Smith Manufacturing Co." She said, "Oh, that is where they all come from, is it?" There are a good many Smiths in the world, and a man who happens to be called Smith is in an unfortunate position. So, when the first Gipsy Smith started out as "Gipsy Smith" it makes the next man sort of under a cloud, in the sense that he was not called some other name. I wish I had been called some other name. I was called other things in days gone by, you know. For instance, Gipsies have got into trouble before now, and very often when the law comes down they have got to change their names and go into another city. And sometimes now I have got to think, "Well, what was my name in that city?" Because, you know, if your father changes his name you have got to change your name, too. When father turns, we all turn.

The Gipsies are a distinct class of people, as I have tried to explain. A friend of mine was teaching in his school—he had been at my meeting and was interested in Gipsies—and one day he asked his class of boys, "What is a Gipsy?" One little fellow said, "Please, sir; a Gipsy is a man that goes round about and round about and round about, to see what he can find." That is pretty nearly true. Gipsies never steal anything. I never knew a Gipsy in my life that would steal. They often *found* things but they never *stole* them. I knew a Gipsy one morning to find a horse in a field. What is more natural than to find a horse in a field? He took it home and put some more spots on it and that night went

and sold it to the man who owned him. The next morning the buyer took the animal out to the field to put him with his other horse and found the other one gone. Upon looking closer at the one he had just bought he saw that the places that had been grey spots were now brown. By this time the Gipsy was far away and had changed his name.

We ourselves, if we answer the question as to who Gipsies are, say we believe we descended from Hagar and Ishmael of the old Testament. And every Gipsy is instilled with that belief when he starts out in life—that he is descended from Ishmael of the sixteenth Chapter of the Book of Genesis. He is of a distinct race, his is a distinct language, and a distinct class of people. We in Britain some years ago had an invasion. Not a German invasion, but German Gipsies. These came across and did some shady things—a muggy bunch they were. The press wrote up large stories about these German Gipsies; and we were anxious, because there are a number of real Gipsies in Germany. When we came across these people we spoke to them in Romany, and not one of them could speak Romany. 'The acid test is their language; because, if a Gipsy has been all his days in Germany or Spain or Bohemia or any other land, he may not be able to speak one word of English or American, but all genuine Gipsies speak Romany.

The name "Gipsy" is no help to find out who we are. The Scotch people in the Highlands, when they speak about Gipsies, do not call them Gipsies, but call them Egyptians. And it is a popular idea among many people that the name Gipsy is derived from Egypt and that Gipsies were originally Egyptians. Now, we never call ourselves Gipsies. The only person who calls Gipsies "Gipsies" is the Gorgio. The Gipsy calls himself Romany, and our language is called Romany. And when we speak to Gipsies,—there are some in this city and I have met and talked to them in their own tongue in my meetings,—we talk the Romany tongue.

I have heard it explained that we call ourselves "Romany" because we roam so much about the country. But our language has a great many Hindustan words, and I think science is trying to prove that the Angle race really came from some part yonder or from some part of India and settled down in England and Scotland—I am not so sure about Ireland—began to grow and became a nation, and married and inter-married until the Anglo-Saxon race became what

it is. I think the Gipsy race is of the original Angles, and has not inter-married but has kept its own identity separate from that of any other people in the world.

We say we are descended from Ishmael. It was said that his hand shall be against every man and every man's hand against him, and there is no race in the world to-day to which this condition is so applicable as the Gipsy race. Gipsies absolutely distrust everybody; and everybody, speaking in general terms, distrusts them. At least, the Gipsies themselves feel that they do. The reason, I suppose, is their mode of living; and the Gipsies never make anything. Some writers have spoken of them as metal workers, but you never met a real Gipsy that made anything in his life—plenty of mistakes you know, but never anything else. A Gipsy can *find* things and be no trouble to anybody, and he has more sense than to do a hard day's work. But, of course, there are other people than Gipsies who do not believe in work. If any Gipsy has to take off his coat and do a hard day's work he is looked down upon by the rest of his tribe as being almost a Gorgio. He is supposed to live on his own wits without doing any work. And the Gipsy motto is, "Do everybody and let nobody do you." But that is also the motto of some of you fellows on the stock exchange.

Their religion! They do not have any particular religion. They are chiefly Protestant. When I say Protestant, there are no Baptists among the Gipsies. I say these things like Mr. Lodge, with reservations. There are no Baptist Gipsies. And there are no Anglican Gipsies. There are no particular denominations. They are Protestants, and that is all. They do not understand these fine distinctions. I myself, three months after I gave my life to the Master to live for Him, three months after that, a man said to me, "Do you see that man there, that old man. He is a Plymouth Brother." I said, "Well, he is a long way from home, isn't he?" I didn't understand. He said, "You don't understand. The man is a member of the Plymouth Brethren." "I understand," I said, "he belongs down in the south of England." We were in Glasgow and it was a long cry to Plymouth: "But he belongs to the Plymouth Brethren, a part of the church." "Oh," I said, "they are a distinct race of people, apart from the church!" Some of my finest friends on earth belong to the Plymouth Brethren, and Godly people they are.

So, Gipsies do not know any denominations. Sometimes

amongst the Gipsies you come across a few Roman Catholic, but very few. The difference between a Roman Catholic Gipsy and a Protestant Gipsy is that the Roman Catholic Gipsy rises in the morning and goes to mass while a Protestant never goes to church at all. And that is quite true of other people apart from Gipsies.

Up until the age of sixteen in my own home I never once heard the name of Jesus. Our Gipsy mothers and women are a lovely type of womanhood. Some of the finest society women in London who have been spoken about as society's beauties are ordinary Gipsy girls some men have fallen in love with. These girls are ostracized from their people when they leave their tents. We can number from the Gipsies at least a dozen of the finest society women of England to-day. And they are looked down upon by the other Gipsies in Great Britain because they left their tents and married Gorgios. The biggest crime a Gipsy can commit is to marry anybody who is not a Gipsy; so, of course, I am an outcast. Not so much an outcast, though, because among my own people I always have a good time.

After I became a preacher and things went rosy and bright for me, and when my work became well known; I remembered my own home and I went home and got my mother to decide, and then my father. And when my mother died my father was getting old and was not able to do very much so I bought a house for him and a business in Glasgow. The Gipsies call me Romany Rashi, Gipsy Brother, or Romany Rye, Gipsy Gentleman. I have no brighter moments than when I walk into tribes of my own people who do not know me, except perhaps by name, and sit down and talk with them.

My father was an ordinary Gipsy man who had a great big heart and no ideals in life except to care for mother and myself. My mother was the best mother God ever gave a boy. I never once came across one Gipsy mother who ever touched strong drink. Gipsy women never speak about Jesus or God. They make no profession of religion. They never teach their children to pray. I was never taught to pray, and until I was sixteen I never once knew God. But there is religion in a Gipsy mother that somehow is not in a Gipsy man. A Gipsy woman usually does the work. She comes out and sells her baskets and sells her lace and sells different things, and tells fortunes. Their mainstay in life

is fortune-telling. When she comes in if she hasn't made enough money the husband usually gives her a good thrashing, and the more he thrashes her the more she seems to like him—I pass this on to you for what it is worth; some day you can try it out. Anyhow, there is no such thing as divorce among the Gipsies; at least, they never come into the law court with their troubles.

There are many kings and queens among the Gipsies. Every tribe has its king and queen. The oldest Gipsy man and the oldest Gipsy woman in every tribe is called by that tribe the king and the queen. And we recognize the authority of the country in which we live, generally speaking; but we recognize the authority of the king and the queen of our own people. If two chaps have a quarrel the usual way of settling it is to get all the other Gipsy men and all the other Gipsy women to form a ring; and they take off their coats and fight it out, and the man who wins has the right side of the argument. As a result, the Gipsy men as a rule are good fighters. I am not a scrapper any more, but in my younger days I used to be. When I left school, if a fellow struck me I would hit him back because if I told my father I had not hit him back I would be half killed by my father. And I had to fight from two points of view, first from my father's point of view, and then from the other fellow's.

If two Gipsy men have a quarrel they never go to a law court, but they fight it out. If the fight is a draw they go to the oldest member of the family, the king or queen, and place the whole thing before him; and if the king says it is, it is, even if it is not.

Now, as to divorce among the Gipsies. You never come across them in a divorce court. And because of that some people argue that Gipsies are extra moral. That is not true. You will find the devil in a Gipsy tent just as much as you will in other places. The Gipsy is just like the Irishman who could resist everything except temptation, and was not such a bad fellow after all if the devil would only leave him alone. The Gipsy man is more or less a law unto himself. If his wife leaves him and goes to somebody else, he says, "all right." If she goes, he never bothers to fetch her back, and the fact that she left him means he is free, and when the time comes to marry somebody else he marries without any bones about it. The result of that is that not many Gipsy women leave their husbands. The Gipsy woman never

leaves her husband when she has a quarrel, and says she is going home to mother; because she knows if she goes she may not come back. You fellows go and fetch them back, that is your trouble.

The Gipsy men usually sit at home and sell horses and buy old scrap metal and *find* things. That is how they make their livelihood. The mainstay is their knowledge of fortune telling, which, of course, I do not know now, as I have given up telling lies. But the old system is lies from beginning to end. They study a person's face and give him a surprisingly accurate description of his life by his face, for every man's portrait is in his face if you know how to study it. And it is quite easy to tell any woman her path will be crossed by a dark young man.

To me it is wonderful how easily people are persuaded to part with their money, and how credulous they are to believe the lies our people tell them. When I was a boy a long, long time ago, there was a man in Glasgow reading bumps. He was a phrenologist. And there were two young women living outside of Glasgow, and they asked my father to come and read their bumps. He was Professor Smith in those days. I sat down beside him at the camp fire and he wrote out on two sheets of foolscap what he was going to say. They came down and he read their bumps and got ten shillings from each of them. Those silly girls believed that man could tell their fortunes.

It is wonderful how absolutely credulous people are. Why, on Fifth Avenue, New York City, just the other week two women went into those hard heads dressed up as Gipsies and actually tried to tell their fortunes, and did it; and left with three or four hundred dollars out of the till and were arrested for it. It is difficult to believe how easily gullible people are to be so taken in. For instance, in our country, over home yonder, a man was in prison. He broke out of prison, and then disguised himself as a sardine or a blade of grass and came across the ocean in the hold of a vessel; and when he arrived in New York City he presented himself as the full-fledged president of the Irish Republic. Not only that, but he is a Spaniard. There is not a drop of Irish blood in his body. And he stands up and asks these American people to give him ten million dollars, and they are giving it to him. I never heard of anybody so easy and so gullible in my life. A bunch of newspaper men came to me in Brook-

lyn when I arrived some time ago, before I came here, and asked me ~~what~~ was my opinion as to the settlement of the Irish question—as if it made any difference what my opinion was. I said the settlement of the Irish question is for the United States government and people to give De Valera the ten million dollars he asks for. So they said, “How do you mean.” I said, “Well, many years ago in Ireland there was what we call a Fenian rising, and those Fenians got together and sent a bunch of ruffians across to America and appealed to the Americans for two or four million dollars. And they got it. And that settled our Irish questions for many years. Now, if you American people will be good enough to give this ruffian his ten million dollars, then the American government will settle Britain’s Irish question for a long time to come, until that money is finished, so far as De Valera is concerned.”

I was brought up in a Gipsy tent, and when I was sixteen I had no ambition in life. I had had only two years at school. I went to school at eight, attending irregularly, and left it when I was twelve. I never went to school in summer, but drove around the country seeing what I could *find*. In winter we settled in different cities. At fourteen I went to a school in Glasgow, where Thomas Carlyle was born, and I had been there no longer than a day when the school master said something about history that was not just correct. Whatever I know now, history used to be my great subject. The only date I remember now is the Battle of Hastings, 1066. So I said to the school master, “That is not true.” He said, “You are too blank blank clever for this school,” so he sent me home in disgrace.

At the age of sixteen I was the ring leader of a rough crowd of young fellows in the city of Glasgow. I had twenty-one in my bunch—some crowd. We were an entire army and we specialized in University students. I was the youngest of the bunch. We were outcasts, of course, and these students used sometimes to issue challenges. Sometimes we got the best of it, sometimes they did. One night, in one of these battles I got hold of a student, and after we had pummelled each other he said “’nough”, got up and shook hands, and he asked me my name. I told him my name and asked him his. I found out he was the son of one of the richest business men in Glasgow, but a perfect scalawag, just like myself. We struck up a friendship. I found out he had promised

his mother to go to church and I said I would go to church with him.

We went to a little Mission Hall in Glasgow. I don't remember anything the preacher said. But afterwards the preacher came to my chum and asked him if he were a Christian. He was not, of course. Then he came to me and said, "Are you a Christian?" I was sixteen years and seventeen days old; and, would you believe me, men, that was the first time in my life that question was asked me. I never had any chance to stand up for Christ. Something welled up in me. I said to myself, "This is what you need. Why not tell this man?" But I was afraid my chums would laugh. I said, "Yes," and hung my head with shame. Then for six days I could not play, and for six days I asked every man and woman with my eyes to tell me something about peace and rest, and for six days I could not sleep. I was afraid that if I died in the night I was not ready to meet God in Heaven. My own mammy could not tell me.

Next meeting I came back to the same hall. At the close of the service the preacher asked anybody who wanted to get right with God to stand up, and he told about how the Master had died for us to redeem our sins. Up to that moment I always believed in the death of Jesus as a historical fact and not as personal. With tears streaming down my face I rose up, and with all my heart declared that by the grace of God I should live for Jesus from now on. At that moment I was His child. I came home to my mother and I was crying. I put my arms around her neck and I said, "Mammy, I have found Christ." Nine months after that night I knelt by her side and led my darling mammy to Jesus before she died. I have led some of the greatest political men in Great Britain to Christ, but I never had the honor shown me on earth like the honor God gave me that night when he allowed me to lead my darling mother to Jesus.

And then I talked to dad and he put me out of doors because a Christian never *found* anything. I was telling everybody far and near about Jesus. When I left home I became a preacher, and I went out and became an evangelist. Mother died. I came back home and found father standing between two horses in the stable. I put my arm around his neck and said, "Dad, isn't it time you started for Heaven." And I saw the first miracle I had ever seen. I saw two big tears run down his cheeks. He got down on his knees and I never

heard a man cry to God for mercy like he did. To-day he is in Glasgow. Six years ago I was preaching in Glasgow and at the close of the service a great many people came out to take my hand and take my Master for their own. Among them were two dark haired Gipsy girls, my two sisters, and I led them to the Master. So my whole home was transformed by the stand I had taken for the Master.

When war was declared I was about to go on a nine months' campaign in the United States. The day war was declared I was on board the *Carmania* at Liverpool, and when I read in the daily press that war had been declared and that Kitchener was asking for 100,000 men I took my bags off the steamer; and that night I joined Lovat's Scouts as a private. I was offered a commission but I did not know much about war so I stayed a private. In ten months I became a sergeant. I was more proud of being made a sergeant than I would have been had I been made mayor. I went recruiting and got 1500 men for the army in the voluntary days. In early 1915 I was offered a commission with the Scottish and went with them to France in 1915, and was behind the Canadians in the Second Battle of Ypres. I went over the top on July 1, 1916 and got a big dose that day, a broken arm and leg. I lay all day in No Man's Land and crawled back at night to the British trenches, arriving at 8.30 next morning. I was nineteen months in the hospital and underwent nine operations. I asked the surgeon to cut that arm off and he would not cut it off. It is perfectly good now.

When I got out of the hospital I was offered my discharge and army pension. I got back into the line again for the last seven months of the scrapping. When the armistice was signed I was acting Major and felt I was too young, and so I started growing a mustache. When I came home my sister said she did not like my mustache so I sat up in the bath and shaved it off and let my majority go down the sink. Since then I have been all over the States and am starting in Canada. I am going back home with my wife in December of this year, and start a campaign in Belfast in January, 1921. And that is the story of a Gipsy boy's life.

(March 22, 1920.)

Commercial Aviation

BY MR. FREDERICK HANDLEY PAGE.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—The warmth of your welcome is so great that I can hardly credit that this is a dry country. I have often wondered what it felt like to be a bear or some other animal in a zoological garden, feeding, and being watched by a whole lot of people. To-day, gentlemen, for the first time in my life I have had an insight into that situation.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here in the city of Toronto to-day, especially as I am surrounded by so many good British friends. Here on my right I have my worthy friend Doctor, Professor, I am not sure which, Tommy Church. You must remember, gentlemen, that I am a stranger in Toronto; and in this great democratic Dominion if I sometimes do not get the titles quite right it is only because of my ignorance, because of the short time I have been able to spend here. Then there are others here, too, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting on the other side. Your worthy chairman has already referred to Colonel Bishop and Colonel Barker. It was my great pleasure on the other side to meet for the first time Colonel Barker before he made his remarkable expedition across the lines bringing back glory to me and to every one of us who are part of the British Empire.

Well, now, I have been asked to say a few words on commercial aviation. When I was over in the United States, I was told that there would be a great traffic between the United States and Canada; and I was told that the passengers would mostly be Scotchmen with glass eyes. Well, gentlemen, be that as it may; I think, quite apart from that, Canada makes an especial appeal to every one who is interested in commercial aviation. You have big distances here, distances which are enormous compared with that little country from which I come. You cannot fly very far in Great Britain before you are in serious danger of falling over the edge; and here, where

*Mr. Handley Page is the head of the great aircraft firm which bears his name. The bombing machines turned out by him during the War played an important part in reducing the Germans to submission.

you have widely separated towns, this new and latest means of transportation affords great possibilities to this new and beautiful continent.

In Europe distances are small before we reach another country; and the complications of continued Customs examinations, and the difficulty with passports—to say nothing of Bolshevik enterprise—make the development of air enterprises on the European continent very difficult. Then, too, there is the difficulty in Europe of the exchange. (This sounds like addressing a meeting of shareholders.) I understand that some countries not very far from this which won the war are now very earnestly arranging for other countries to pay for it. But, gentlemen, if you have bother with the exchange here, the situation is twenty times worse over in England—and Europe. I can illustrate that by supposing that we have an air line running between London and Berlin through Holland. Assuming that the pound is worth twenty shillings of normal currency in England, it is only worth fifteen shillings in Amsterdam, but it is worth about fifteen to twenty pounds in Germany. A service operating between those points has to employ men in each country at those varying rates of exchange and varying costs of living, and has to do with the difficult problem of paying pilots to fly in all three countries.

An English pilot paid at English rates would be a millionaire in Germany; and the German, paid at German rates, would be a pauper in England. That is a difficulty that we have to face in Europe. Of course, that is quite right. We won the war and they have got to pay for it. I don't think anyone will object. But it makes it very difficult when you are trying to arrange a service along such lines. You can realize how fortunate Canada is and how well placed for air development when you think of the great distances that can be flown without those troubles. I would remind you, too, that the way to China and Japan lies through the North-West of Canada through the Aleutian Islands.

Canada, too, has vast territories of undeveloped land which contain enormous undeveloped mineral resources. I would like to illustrate the use of the aeroplane for the development of your mining regions, by reading to you a letter written by a prospector who spent many years in New Ontario. There are a thousand and one other ways in which the aeroplane will help to make Canadian development. Lumber companies can patrol and survey the whole of their limits and see exactly where the timber lies and the most economical way of getting

it out; aircraft constantly patrolling those timber limits will detect at once the commencement of forest fires, be able to carry a fire fighting gang to the seat of operations and quench the fire long before it has had time to get a firm hold on the lumber. That has been most satisfactorily proven and great savings effected by the U.S. Government service in the State of Washington.

I am told that the loss to this country in forest fires runs into millions of dollars per annum, and a very small percentage of that amount invested in aircraft would be the best form of fire insurance that the country could possibly have.

Apart from the discovery of undeveloped resources, or from protection of known wealth, the aeroplane is the only means whereby a bird's-eye view can be taken and a photographic plan made of a developing township or a new site. When railways were originally made out in a country, surveys were made on foot and were necessarily limited in the extent of ground covered before a decision was reached as to the route to be followed. Very often the best country was missed. I had a very good illustration of that in discussing the survey of British Guiana with a deputation from that country which visited England. The Colony of British Guiana, situated in the Northeast corner of South America, is covered near the coast with vast forests and intersected with great rivers. As one proceeds inland, the forests are broken up by great prairie areas called "Savannahs," which become more frequent as one proceeds inland until, right in the interior of the country, there is one big tableland entirely free from forests. All that interior prairie land is of great agricultural value. To reach it roads have had to be cut through the forest at enormous expense. If, instead of going the straight route, roads had been cut linking up the various "Savannahs" dotted through the forests, great sums could be saved; for the road across the "Savannahs" required no clearing.

Here, too, the people have played a very great part in obtaining air supremacy for the Empire; no country for its population provided so many pilots in the Air Forces. It is a record of which Canada might well be proud, that out of a population of eight millions no less than eleven thousand pilots, or one in eight hundred of the population took part in the great war in the air.

For me, Toronto has a particularly warm spot, as one of my brothers came here from Vancouver to be trained by the Curtiss Company and took his pilot's certificate at the school

here. He, like many others from this country, gave his life on the other side in the Great Cause. I had another relative, a cousin, who came in 1914 from Fort Ste. Anne, joined the first Canadian contingent; and, joining the Flying Corps, was shot down and killed by Immelman early in 1915.

In speaking to a Canadian audience one is, therefore, speaking to those who already know a great deal of aviation, appreciate its possibilities, and are willing to act as soon as they see the lines on which to move.

In England we have already made a move in commercial aviation; and have lines running between London and Paris, and London and Brussels. That has been possible because, not only were machines available there which could be readily converted for commercial work, but also the government had built many aerodromes, and has an organized meteorological service which gave the necessary forecasts enabling the pilot to see exactly the weather he would have to encounter. Near London two aerodromes—one, our own, at Cricklewood; and the other at Hounslow—are available for entering or leaving from or to the continent; and customs and wireless facilities are installed.

There is a large chart of the map of Europe with small hooks opposite the big towns between which air services are operated. On those hooks are hung numbers representing the kind of weather that is prevailing at the place indicated. The weather is divided into sections; such as visibility, rain, clouds, etc.; and there are five grades, No. 1 being the very best weather, and No. 5 being the very worst for flying, with intermediate gradations, two, three, and four. Those charts are developed from wireless information sent every hour along the route, and flying is not attempted if five appears at the greater portion of the route.

Our greatest enemy is fog; as, unless there is good visibility, you cannot see where to land. With a good wireless service on the ground and in the machine, a pilot can be warned if fog has come over an aerodrome; and he can then fly on to an aerodrome free from it and have his passengers and express goods transferred into the fog area by automobile.

It is necessary, however, before a service is started which is going to run to schedule, that the full ground organization and weather forecasting should be installed. One would not think of starting a haulage or cartage system until you had roads and until you had repair stations and gasoline supplies prevailing. In the same way, it is of no use starting an aeroplane

service until there are landing fields along the routes and until there are wireless communications and meteorological services. If that is not done, the aeroplanes will soon be found lying about the country providing a very remunerative source of income to farmers showing them at ten cents a head to an inquiring population. The result, however, to the aeroplane owner, is not what he expected. Yet it is only what he would get if he attempted to run motor trucks before there were roads, ending up by leaving his equipment bogged beyond recovery.

It is essential, therefore, that every enterprising municipality should take a hand in this great air development by providing flying fields close to the cities, and attracting to them lines of aircraft, and so obtaining all the benefits of improved communications.

With the service that we have inaugurated from London to the Continent, up to the beginning of this month we had flown 83,000 miles, carried 4,200 passengers and 49,000 pounds of freight, without an accident of any kind to the passengers or loss of a single pound of freight.

With regard to the actual flying work, Canada is well ahead in formulating rules governing the use of aircraft along the same lines as those which have proved so successful during the past year in the Old Country. It remains only to develop the actual use of machines. Canada has already adopted federal legislation, I understand, to govern the navigation of aircraft and the licensing of them, with certificates of fitness, and so on. Private enterprise should develop the machines, in which there are changes from day to day owing to the great technical improvements that are being constantly made. It is impossible for any state or municipal body to take advantage of improvements as quickly as they are brought out and provide the funds and the services as well. Such work as is required to be done by the aeroplanes for public services should be contracted for as a private enterprise. Private enterprise, having to pay its way, will see that the equipment is the best possible to give a return on its money.

That large body of private enterprise, called into being to serve commercial needs of the country, can be utilized to form a very good defence force for the Empire's need. Whenever the call should come for aircraft for military purposes, the great body of commercial aviators, trained in flying under the strenuous conditions of peace time competition, and great numbers of machines used for air services, should be available

at once for the country's service. All those machines should be of British design and development, but suited to the needs of this country; so that a peace time air force, fostered on those lines, is organized and standardized on details which fit in with other sections of Imperial air strategy.

It is probable that, developing along those lines, Canada will play a very large part in the development of the world's commercial aviation, and become the aerial highway between Europe on the East and Asia on the West.

It has the spruce, out of which nearly every aeroplane is made; and, as well as that, rare and important metals out of which the high grade aeroplane components are constructed. It has the distances to be covered; the people who have had experience in air work; and, most important of all, it has that great energy and enterprise which alone can insure success, and which will carry forward the great Canadian nation to victory as great in peace as she has accomplished in the war now happily ended.

I think that the attention of everyone in this great Dominion should be turned to the development of air routes, and the opening up of aerodromes for every great city; so that you will be able to develop commercial routes across the country, which is so magnificently suited to the development of a magnificent air-transportation system.

In Canada we are part of a great Empire of which we may all well be proud. In crossing the frontier from the States, the first thing I saw was the Canadian Customs; and the man had a crown in the middle of his cap; and, gentlemen, I think you will all agree with me that we are very proud of that crown, which in Canada has had distinguished representation at the hands of the Prince of Wales who recently visited here. In the midst of all the materialistic development in this country, and the great commercialism that is going forward, it is nice to feel that at the head of it all is something which is not materialistic, but has a certain romantic lustre about it. When we think of that, we think of One King, One Country, and One Flag. If we are going to develop aviation in this great Dominion we want to remember that the development should be along British lines, that we should as far as possible organize and standardize our units so that this great country will fit in as one part of the great Empire in its equipment; and should it be called on again, (I hope the day is far distant), to take part in another great war, its equipment and men will be all working along the lines of those of other great Dominions across the seas. Gentlemen, I thank you.

(March 29th, 1920.)

The World's Economic and Political Readjustment

BY MR. A. D. NOYES.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your very cordial reference to what has been with me an exceedingly pleasant recollection. It is very nearly five years ago since I first had the pleasure of meeting the Club. The situation, as we all remember, was peculiar at that time. Canada and the United States had not quite come to think in common, not because they disagreed as to the issues of the war, but because they could not yet see each other's position on the question of the participation of the United States in the war. I am bound to say that I learned more of the real Canadian opinion, that afternoon—of the reasons for the justice of that opinion—than I had learned in all preceding discussions of the subject in my own country.

Since then, a great deal of water has passed under the mill. The wishes that both of us entertained when I spoke to you five years ago have been fulfilled. We have seen the United States and Canada fighting, sometimes literally, shoulder to shoulder in the great war. They have both participated in the victory. Now they are both confronted with the great problems of reconstruction. The problems are not simple with either of them. It is true that both the United States and Canada are in many respects the most favored nations in the situation left by the war. We are both of us great producers of foodstuffs and raw material. We are both of us creditor nations in regard to the states of Europe which have been at war. Yet neither of us can escape from the consequences of war and its problems of reconstruction.

*Mr. Noyes holds the position in the United States corresponding to that of Sir George Paish in Great Britain. He is the Editor of the "New York Evening Post" and is considered a leading authority on this Continent on commercial and financial matters.

You in Canada have this peculiar and irritating problem of the deranged exchange market between Canada and the United States; and we in the United States have been suddenly and strenuously confronted with the extraordinary exchange market between the United States and the East, a direct outgrowth of the war, leading to the outpouring of gold to the Orient in such measure as to threaten, at one time, the retention of a sufficient reserve of gold in our Federal Reserve System; and back of it all we are necessarily, one country like the other, confronted with the question of Europe itself, for by the fortunes of Europe our fortunes must necessarily be regulated in the future.

I should shrink from discussion of this subject, gentlemen, if I did not feel that, after all, nothing more could possibly be expected from any one on a matter of such intricacy except to give the fruits of thought, conjecture, and impression. The confident solution of the question is beyond me. It is beyond all of us. Neither of us expects it from the other. The incidental problems that arise are so multifarious as to bewilder us by their complexity; so much so that I am asking your indulgence this afternoon if I hold myself pretty closely to my notes. If I did not, I do not know when the speech would be over or the meeting released.

Now, gentlemen, our experience before, during, and since the war has been mostly one of shattered and dissipated predictions. I should have supposed, after the experience of most of us, that any man in public or private capacity would hesitate to make a definite prediction as to what is going to happen to anybody or anywhere as a result of this war. We certainly had this proved during the war itself. I remember very well a conversation in the early part of 1915 with a gentleman whom I regard as the best informed and shrewdest of the international bankers of New York City, in which he gave me, on apparently good grounds, his judgment and the judgment of the international banking community that, from the pure standard of economic exhaustion, this war could not possibly last further than the autumn of 1915.

Well, you know what became of that prediction, and of the later predictions of the ruin of the American market as a result of the outbreak of the war. One could tell of scores of such unfulfilled predictions. That, itself, might well warn anyone who attempts to indulge in definite forecasts of the future. Yet there is one prediction—which was made at the beginning of the war, was made during the war and was made

at the end of the war, by thoughtful and experienced judges—which has been up to the present date absolutely fulfilled, and which, I believe, is destined to be even more fulfilled in the future. It was that the world which emerged from this war would not be the world which went into it; that whatever we choose to think will be the outcome, it will be another world, in many respects a new world, that will have to deal with it.

Politically and economically, 1914 already seems far in the remote past of historical situations and institutions. Epoch-making changes, permanent and revolutionary in their character, have swept in such rapid and bewildering succession across the scene that even landmarks which we had learned to watch in measuring the course of history have disappeared. Some of this engulfing of old institutions occurred during the war itself, but most of it after the war was over. People who had imagined, in a blind and perfunctory way, that return of peace would be followed merely by gradual restoration of things to their pre-war status, were naturally struck with a kind of consternation. Along with that came the urgent pressure of economic problems—social, commercial, agricultural, and industrial—which were absolutely certain to follow a war conducted in the manner and on the scale of this European war, and yet which all of us had somehow thrust aside from practical consideration while the war continued.

We saw the prodigious diversion of industry, destruction of life and property, the trebling and quadrupling of national debts, the inflation of national currencies, the deranging of foreign trade; but very few of us seriously undertook to predict the necessary sequel. When, therefore, the perfectly logical results ensued, they came with a peculiar shock. Political and economic relations did not readjust themselves; on the contrary, with the government's artificial war-time expedients withdrawn, matters seemed to be moving with violent rapidity from bad to worse. It is not strange that, confronted with those bewildering and alarming developments, a good many of us should have begun to ask whether, after all, the war had not been the suicide of society as we knew it—whether we may not now be looking on at something like the wreck of civilization.

Well, when this question of the wreck of civilization is brought up—as it frequently is in discussion—I am always tempted to ask the prophet what his idea of the wreck of civilization is. What does he mean by the wreck of civilization?

It may be that he means the disappearance of all government ; in which case we are perfectly well aware that his position is nonsensical. But very few people would seriously take that ground. It may be that he looks to political confusion, verging on anarchy and lasting for an indefinite time. It may be that he merely means the repudiation of obligations, international and otherwise, by the governments. The trouble with all such predictions is that the definition does not accompany it. Until it does, I can see little profit in discussing that aspect of the question.

Yet one answer to make to that form of vague apprehension is based on the fact that the modern world has lived through a closely similar experience in the immediate sequel to every great war of the past ; has recovered from it ; has solved the problems (at the time apparently insoluble) arising from it ; and, what is more singular, has entered eventually on a new chapter of history which was marked by new, and usually by very great, achievement.

Sometimes the readjustment has affected single nations or groups of nations ; sometimes the whole world. For instance, there was the United States at the end of the exhausting Civil War. We emerged from that war with a public debt of a previously unimagined size. We had been nearly as far from paying the cost of the war in taxes as France has been in this European war. We had inflated our currency with utter recklessness. The paper dollar had at one time fallen to thirty-six cents in gold, and the industrial machine was kept running chiefly through an absolutely unheard-of excess of merchandise imports over exports. The Northern States had not been invaded and devastated, but the Southern States had. The Civil war ended in 1865 ; it was 1878 before the South, which for several years after the peace seemed to be industrially ruined, produced as large a cotton crop as it had harvested in 1859.

The political situation of that period had, as I think we will all admit, some curious resemblance to the situation which we are contemplating this afternoon. It developed in a way which readers of history are beginning to understand, from present developments, as they could not understand before this war. The Senate and the President locked horns. The President's view in 1866 and 1867, as to the terms of pacification with the South, fell so far from meeting the views of the Senate that the dominant party itself was split in two. The breach reached

such proportions that the impeachment of the president was handed in and an attempt made at his removal. It is only when we begin to look at this phase of the subject, when we can see the extraordinary mixture of emotions and clear thought in the arrangements already in progress regarding Europe, that we can understand the nature of the situation of that day.

Or, if we look back on what has been, in some respects, a more nearly analogous period, the Napoleonic wars, we have the story of antagonism of nations following the peace. We read of a condition of labor in England which repeatedly reached the stage of armed revolution; of such confusion, political and economic, on the continent as made it almost impossible to foretell even the immediate future. No government on the continent was settled sufficiently to look far ahead in its own career until after the outright revolutions of 1830 and 1848. All that time there was very serious labor unrest, extremely hard times, with the people in desperate poverty.

Now, the point I am making in these brief historical allusions is that there was the transition period, on two notable parallel occasions; and here we are, to-day, faced by a third. Did either of those two emergencies, as applied either to the United States or to the Europe which emerged from the Napoleonic wars, herald a wreck of civilization?

I think we shall all admit there is a difference in many respects, chiefly because of the immense complexity of the political and economic situation of to-day. In order to place clearly before our minds just what has got to be met on this occasion, I am going to enumerate briefly what are the main points of the situation as we can see it now and as they have developed since the armistice.

In the first place would naturally be mentioned political uprisings against established governments; then the downfall of monarchies, followed by the world-wide effort of labor to seize a larger share or complete control of government. Nothing in all history, I suppose, could have been more startling, more dramatic in its suddenness and completion, than the flight and abdication of every princely and ducal authority in Central Europe, almost overnight, with the signing of the armistice. Repeatedly we have had brought before us in many different forms the political restlessness of labor; the ambitions of labor to seize the government, directly as in Russia, and in Germany indirectly, as in other European coun-

tries, and even in the United States. That, I think we will all admit, is a new phenomenon. Perhaps it had been foreshadowed by the rise in power of the socialist and labor parties before the war, but it seemed to be taking the shape of a class war after the international war.

Next we have Russia, one of the greatest producers of food and raw material before the war, cut off from intercourse with the rest of the civilized world; this not merely because of Bolshevik usurpation, but also because of the complete demoralization of transportation, the confiscations, the labor which could not be controlled, the peasant revolt, the alienation of foreign markets.

Then we have Germany paralyzed, as far as we can see it now, by causes which are peculiar to herself. One of them, doubtless, is the usual reaction of a defeated state. Another is the civil disorder and uncertain government, due to overthrow of an old régime, and the total derangement of the economic system, notably its currency, due very largely to paying for the war in home loans and paper currency, not in taxes, but also due very largely to the uncertainty of the future. Germany is saddled with an enormous indemnity, richly deserved but of such magnitude that its payment may extend through the next thirty years, and, on the face of things, might conceivably absorb for remittance to the previous enemy countries all of Germany's surplus national profits of the period from home and foreign trade. There has resulted, as it was probably bound to result, a paralysis of trade and business ambition. Back of this is the demand for the punishment of war criminals, a question in which it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between emotional argument and sound international reasoning.

Looking away from Germany, we have belligerent Europe as a whole, with its internal debt trebled or quadrupled since 1914. The interest payments on that debt far exceed, in practically every one of the belligerents, the entire public revenue of the country before the war. We have taxes raised, still very inefficiently, in Continental Europe; public revenue falling far below expenditure; and we find Western Europe, fourteen months after peace, paying its government bills largely in fresh issues of paper money. We have the utterly unprecedented debt of weak European governments to strong European governments and all of them to the United States; a debt whose total annual interest, in the case of the United

States, would alone be equal to the average annual excess of exports from the United States to Europe before the war.

On top of this, we have imports of merchandise by Europe from America, from Canada and the United States; which so far have exceeded Europe's exports to America that the annual balance in the trade of the United States against the outside world had risen in 1919 to \$3,200,000,000, or five times the highest mark prior to 1914. That was in war time; but, even after peace, Europe's own productive power recovered so slowly and her need of the goods and raw materials of America was so great that the United States excess of exports, which was \$3,118,000,000 in 1918, actually arose to four billions in the calendar year of 1919, of which no less than \$3,852,000,000 was in trade with Europe.

And, along with all this, there is such inflation of paper currencies not redeemable in gold that not only is the rise in prices due to scarcity immensely enhanced in Europe by depreciated money, but that depreciation of exchange on America has become such as to increase greatly the actual trade debt incurred for importation of a given amount of merchandise. It must be remembered that, if the average prices paid for exports and imports are doubled, then the money value of the export balance, say of the United States or Canada, will be doubled also, even if the quantity of exports and imports remains unchanged. Conversely, a country with an excess of imports, say Germany or France, might keep that balance against it unchanged in quantity, but in money value the adverse balance will be doubled.

On the face of things, one might be tempted to say that no such disastrous situation has ever confronted the modern civilized world. It is not strange that predictions of anarchy, social disintegration, national bankruptcy, should be heard in serious circles. Yet, as we have seen, almost exactly such conditions have marked the immediate aftermath of all great wars in recent modern history.

Well, the first question to consider is how far the experiences of 1919 were inevitable to a transition period in which the world was neither at war nor at peace; in which the artificial wartime support of finance and industry by government was suddenly withdrawn; and in which the whole political, social, and economic situation was aggravated by the resultant reaction. Are those conditions temporary or are they permanent? Will they grow worse? Those are the real questions.

We have seen that a similar situation followed every great war—the European political and economic chaos of 1815 to 1820, the absolute political confusion of 1865 to 1873. But we know what came after the transition period. Let us now look at the separate aspects of the situation which I have briefly revealed, and see what hope there lies in them for the future.

First, Labor. As I have said, this was foreshadowed in politics before the war. Labor parties were resolved to have a hand in control of government. The Labor party held the balance of power in England. This was immensely accentuated by the conditions following the war. Yet the questions of labor control of industry and labor control of politics run on somewhat different lines. Probably it is fortunate that the experience of Russia has been exactly what it has been. The economic breakdown of the Soviet system, the remodelling of the views of the laborers, who had begun with the fiction of participating in industry and have ended by facing absolute industrial slavery, cannot possibly have failed to extend to the rest of the civilized world.

Nevertheless, the Soviet idea, the Bolshevik doctrine of labor arrogating to itself the supremacy, has at times extended formidably, even, as we know, in our own western continent. Well, the English railroad strike was to usher in the Bolshevik dominion in England. We know whether it did or did not. You have had your own experience. We have had ours, with the arrogant appearance of the labor demands at Washington last September, when notice was served on the government of the United States that no railway legislation which had not recognized labor as a participant in management and in profits would be permitted or recognized by labor. To that ultimatum, laid down in the most uncompromising terms, absolutely no attention was paid by Congress. The railway bill was passed, adopting none of the expedients laid down by labor. On the eve of the passage of the bill a second ultimatum, feebler than the first, was served by the unions upon Congress, objecting root and branch to the bill as it stood, expressing their total and absolute dissatisfaction with its terms. But the bill was passed by an overwhelming majority in Congress, and has been absolutely acquiesced in by both Capital and Labor.

Now, it is possible, gentlemen, that industry, possible even that politics, will be built up hereafter on the basis of a wider

participation of what we have known as the labor classes in the administration of both. But that labour as a class will dominate all the rest of society, I believe to be utterly repugnant to the ordinary conceptions of modern civilization, to our own knowledge of human nature; and, certainly, most improbable when you measure up the forces which always have been at work fundamentally in politics.

Of course, we have the case of Russia. To Russia we are pointed, or until lately have been pointed, as an illustration of the principles which must eventually operate throughout the world. But let us consider for a moment what has happened in Russia. Of the nature of Russian politics, of Russian administration, of the Russian outrages, I say nothing. All that I wish to point to at this moment is the simple question of the Russian system for Soviet labor administration, as laid down by Lenine and his associates, in the plan that exists at the present moment. I have never seen the present situation summed up more concisely and more correctly, and, it seems to me, more wittily, than by Kantsky, one of the associates in the Berlin cabinet; who, on being asked his own opinion of the present Russian government, said he considered it "a highly inferior form of Capitalism." I have talked with returned travellers from Russia who have assured me that what is going on, in Siberia particularly, and in Central Russia, is the return of the old village commune, even as to the personalities which occupied that kind of local body before the war. The only difference from the old time *Mir* is in the title, Soviet. We have seen the government's efforts operating in the most extraordinary way in industry. At the present time, the successful industries in Russia are administrated by capitalists working under the name of "government commissaries," with salaries which, I am informed, have in some cases, even after allowing for the depreciated Russian paper, been made larger than what was commanded for any such services before the revolution. At the same time, the laborer, the workman in the factory, who was to have been both the administrator and beneficiary, finds himself compelled to work, forbidden to leave one place for another, absolutely prohibited from striking; and with the arm of government represented by bayonets not a hundred yards away from his factory. The very proposition, tentatively it is true, submitted by Lenine as to what the Russia government is willing to do in case of its recognition by the Entente powers, is not of itself without interest. What Lenine proposed at the conference a year ago

was, that if the government received recognition, then the Russian government was prepared not only to recognize on certain terms its foreign debt, already officially repudiated by it, but to admit the representatives of the foreign creditors to administer the Russian natural resources, under certain conditions, for the benefit of the foreign bond holders. It will naturally occur to most of us that this was adoption of the somewhat familiar capitalistic plan. It was placing Russia in the hands of a receiver.

Now, as to Germany. Keynes' view regarding German indemnity is well known. Germany cannot pay, and will not pay, the indemnity so placed against her, according to his view, at an utterly unwarranted and impossible figure. Well, I am not going to enter on any extended discussion of Mr. Keynes' attitude. That he was mistaken in many of his calculations has already been proved conclusively by answers from various quarters. The German delegates themselves, in counter proposal, named twenty-five billion dollars as the ultimate payment which was possible for them to make; which is not without significance as to what could be paid. That the terms of the treaty, as prescribed for indemnity, are in many respects complex, is perfectly true; that their complexity was largely due to political conditions and to the wish to avoid political difficulties, is also, unfortunately, true. But the most unfortunate aspect of the matter, admitted even by those who in other respects have answered Mr. Keynes, is that a situation is created in which not only has a huge indemnity, stretching far into the future so far as regards its payment, been imposed upon Germany; but that by the strict terms of the treaty Germany and its people do not know to-day and cannot know to-morrow what are to be the limits of that payment. In other words, it is quite possible so to construe the language of the clauses and the provision for the reparation as to mean that, even if a distinct sum is once settled for Germany to pay, and if Germany thereafter should show by her own industrial and financial recovery she is in a position to pay a larger sum, then a larger sum will be imposed. Whether that was the actual intent of the treaty, it is impossible at the moment to say.

It was the belief of most of us that the reparations committee was in reality appointed to reduce and not to increase. But it does appear to me that Mr. Keynes is justified in objecting to the placing on Germany's future of such a lien that her people and her government would feel that whatever addi-

tional efforts they were to make towards recuperation they might never receive any benefit, but might have to bear a heavier burden in proportion to their heavier labor. That is a paralyzing influence. It is, I suppose, what Mr. Asquith had in mind in his recent speech when he said that in his judgment two billions sterling should be named as the outside indemnity from Germany. I would not go so far as to name a sum as low as that; but the sum should be explicitly stated and both Germany and the outside world should know that that is the limit which is to be paid. I believe that to be essential to the emergence of Germany within a reasonable time from her industrial paralysis.

The recent memorial of the bankers and statesmen, laying forth in general terms the arrangements probably to be made for the financial helping out of Europe from its present difficulties, laid great stress on the fact that at the present moment the utmost care should be taken not to bankrupt Germany. As to the question of military offenders, there is no question that we have been brought into an awkward situation by yielding to emotions rather than reason. Readers of our civil war history will remember the struggle which occurred during the many months after the civil war for the "hanging of Jeff Davis." The former President of the Confederacy was even at one time handcuffed in jail, and Horace Greeley, the northern abolitionist, went bail for him, glad to show his disapproval of that sort of action. I have no intention of defending the offenders who have been guilty of precisely what has been charged against them in the clauses of the treaty. Yet it is easy to see that we have here a problem of the greatest political delicacy; involving, on the one hand the possible trial of the citizens of one country by an alien court, and on the other hand the forcing of the courts of that country to try some offenders for offences which possibly they themselves might have been inclined to condone.

Now, as to the debt of Europe. That debt is so prodigious as to be bewildering. The interest on it is so great as to make the previous pre-war revenue of the belligerent states seem small by comparison. Yet is it not possible that in arguing on this question we are missing one essential point; namely, that the war has brought us into an era of immensely increased productiveness? If the debt of Europe is increased five-fold or ten-fold, taxation in the great European belligerent states was increased in only a slightly smaller proportion. In our

own country in 1870, five years after the Civil War, 1859 was looked upon as an era of small things; and in 1815 or 1820, the England of 1797 seemed to have embodied the infancy of financial and commercial development. In both periods a perfectly prodigious debt was paid on the nail, a surplus revenue in the meantime accrued, and depreciated currency was brought back to normal. There is no question that the magnitude of our present problem exceeds that of any similar problem in the past. The question is, whether our financial and industrial capacity may not have been developing in similar proportion. If not, then it is a perfectly practical question to ask: "How did Europe raise its war loans?"

The matter of foreign trade in some respects is most baffling. The question of Europe's debit balance to the outside world is different from what it was after our civil war, different from what it was in England after the Napoleonic war. We were then to a large extent, and afterwards to an increasingly great extent, the producer of food and raw material. England, in 1915, as she is to-day after her career through the war, was the great manufacturer for the outside world. Therefore, in the case of England the specific problem was to get the raw material of the outside world; and shipment in great quantity of such goods was the means by which the outside world paid its war indebtedness to England. The difference in the problem at the present time no one can realize better than you in Canada. It is we, Canada and the United States, who are producing the raw materials and the food, which are precisely at the present moment the articles in most need in Europe. That, as I take it, is the peculiar aspect of the problem which has now to be worked out. It is certainly the reason that, although Great Britain during 1919 increased its export trade no less than eighty per cent. as compared with the year before, her balance of trade with the new world was worse than it had been in 1918.

What, then, is to be our conclusion? First, I believe that no greater mistake can be made than to take the desperately trying transition period as indicating a permanent condition. That is impossible, as all history and all common sense prove. I have shown what the conditions were in the transition period after our civil war, and we know what was the result. We might recall perhaps the utterly desperate condition of the American colonies in 1783. Nothing that has arisen in Europe during this year could fail to be duplicated in the

experiences of those communities; pouring out paper money, with their trade completely deranged, and on the verge of war with one another. There was absolute industrial, financial, and political chaos; foreign credit had absolutely disappeared. But we know the result, brought about by the political and economic forces which were only waiting to be called into operation.

Second; my judgment is that the sequel to this transition period will be something better, not worse. This also is the lesson of history; and it is the lesson of common sense as well, because the first controlling influence both in politics and in industry is to live and thrive. Once convince the people of the world that here lies your road to living and thriving, and there lies your road to poverty and decay, and there can be, in my judgment, very little question as to what the choice of the people will be.

Third; my feeling is that, perplexing and bewildering as the events of the first year of peace have been, they have been reassuring in that the gloomiest predictions of the European winter of 1919 have not been fulfilled. When we look back on conditions under which Europe entered the period immediately succeeding the armistice,—her transportation practically ruined by the train of war, her stocks of raw material absolutely used up, her labor disaffected,—does it seem so strange that twelve months have elapsed without continental Europe getting on its feet? On the contrary, it seems to me that if the first expectations entertained in many minds, that somehow Europe was to take up its industrial problems exactly where she left them in 1914, if by any chance freak, any conceivable combination of events, that could have been the result, then we should have looked on a modern miracle.

Fourth; among the conclusions which I should draw is that the power of production and the power of national revenues has been underestimated, as it has always been after a great war. I have often cited the following extract from Macaulay. It seems to me to be by no means without significance:

"When the great contest with Louis the Fourteenth was finally terminated by the Peace of Utrecht," Macaulay says, "the English nation owed about fifty millions, and that debt was considered, not merely by the rude multitude, not merely by fox-hunting squires and coffee-house orators, but by acute and profound thinkers, as an incumbrance which would permanently cripple the body politic. Nevertheless trade flourished;

wealth increased; the nation became richer and richer. Then came the war of the Austrian Succession; and the debt rose to eighty millions. Pamphleteers, historians, and orators pronounced that now at all events our case was desperate. . . .

"Soon war again broke forth, and under the energetic and prodigal administration of the first William Pitt the debt rapidly swelled to a hundred and forty millions. As soon as the first intoxication of victory was over, men of theory and men of business almost unanimously pronounced that the fatal day had now really arrived. . . . Adam Smith saw a little, but only a little, further. He admitted that, immense as the pressure was, the nation did actually sustain it and thrive under it in a way which nobody could have foreseen. But he warned his countrymen not to repeat so hazardous an experiment. . . .

"The attempt to lay a portion of the loan on the American colonies produced another war. That war left us with an additional hundred millions of debt, and without the colonies, whose help had been represented as indispensable. Again England was given over; and again the strange patient persisted in becoming stronger and more blooming in spite of all the diagnostics and prognostics of State physicians. . . .

"Soon, however, the wars which sprang from the French Revolution and which far exceeded in cost any that the world had ever seen, tasked the powers of public credit to the utmost. When the world was again at rest the funded debt of England amounted to eight hundred millions. If the most enlightened man had been told, in 1792, that in 1815 the interest on eight hundred millions would be duly paid to the day at the Bank he would have been as hard of belief as if he had been told that the Government would be in possession of the lamp of Aladdin or of the purse of Fortunatus."

Last of all, I should lay very great stress on the fact that organized effort to deal with the situation is only about to be begun. The whole world drifted during 1919; it was a year of makeshifts. One may perhaps venture the assertion that England alone went to work in thorough business-like manner at the main problem—which was to her the recovery of her export trade. She actually did increase it eighty per cent. over 1918, though mostly in shipments to the European continent. The rest of Europe moved in a bewildered way, though France has made much more substantial progress than the people of this continent realize. I think it worth while to

read one or two sentences from the memorial of the Bankers. They bear absolutely on the question as it now lies before us:—

“There can be no social or economic future for any country which adopts a permanent policy of meeting its current expenditures by a continuous inflation of its circulation and by increasing its interest-bearing debts without a correspondent increase of its tangible assets. . . . No country, however, is deserving of credit, nor can it be considered a solvent debtor whose obligations we may treat as items of actual valuation in formulating our plans for the future, that will not or cannot bring its current expenditures within the compass of its receipts from taxation and other regular income.”

An international conference is to assemble in Europe to settle some aspects of the question. It is of the utmost importance that the two principles and conditions laid down in those two brief sentences which I have read should be faithfully applied to the governments and peoples of Europe. I believe they would be welcomed by the governments, however much they may grumble in a single instance. There seems to have been, in Western continental Europe, a reluctance to go to their own people with the plans of taxation which they knew would have to be adopted. Here we have the tangible appreciation which, I hope, will be formulated in still stronger terms when Congress makes its offer; namely, that we are willing to co-operate as a nation, we are willing to finance your necessities, to bring your industries to their feet, to help you in bringing down your depreciated currency, but we must first learn what you will do to help yourselves.

We may be passing into another and a new stage of recovery. The widest possible allowance has to be made for the effect upon men's minds of so earth-shaking an event as the great European war, and the necessary downfall of institutions which accompanied and followed it. Every wild imagination as to creating an earthly paradise through the overnight reorganization of society; every happy thought as to economic and political experiments which will discard all the slowly learned lessons of the past; every instinct of selfish ambition on the part of a class dictator, is stirred into abnormal activity at such a time, and gets an abnormally large audience.

But the great multitude of mankind has a preponderant residuum of conservatism, experience, and common sense; and that in the end is certain to prevail. The mistake which even some very respectable men are making is in taking this confused demonstration of a necessarily chaotic transition period

for the voice of all the people and for the permanent mental condition of all the world. But that is utterly impossible. It is true that an old world, political and economic, is being transformed into a new world; and the pains of transformation are of the severest kind, as they always have been and always will be on such occasions. The task of economic reconstruction is bound to be prolonged and of the most exacting sort. Yet what we may not unreasonably hope for is that the very magnitude of the energies which will be called upon to surmount these enormous problems left as the heritage of the war will prepare the way, not only for a new world, but for a better one.

(April 12, 1920.)

A Moderate View of the Irish Question

BY MR. PHILIP W. WILSON.*

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Justice Sutherland, Bishop of Toronto, and Gentlemen,—I feel it a very deep honor to be here—and not for the first time—before one of the great Canadian Clubs of the Dominion, everyone of whose sons is so dear to the Motherland from which I come, whether that son be in America or has made his last home forever on European soil.

I understand that Canadian Clubs, very wisely, seek to avoid all differences of politics and religion; and that, I take it, is the reason why you have asked me to speak upon the Irish question, which is one that has merely certain academic properties. Up until this time, in your city I have had a quiet, I might almost say an exclusive, time at a most comfortable place of solitary residence, I mean the York Club. There I was served this morning with breakfast on plates in which I noticed what, I suppose, were the roses of York and Lancaster. One of them in my country would have been colored white and the other red. But here in Toronto both were colored green, showing how the simple English flowers of my own country are absorbed by the dominating Shamrock.

We are interested in Ireland because she speaks our language, sometimes more volubly than we speak it ourselves. Also, she has made, and here I strike a sincere and serious note, she has made great sacrifices in this war. It is perfectly true that, whereas conscription was applied to Ireland, though not enforced, yet it is true that many, many thousands of Irishmen volunteered in the struggle, not merely from Ireland but from all parts where Irishmen live; in England, in your own Dominion, in Australia and in the United States.

I enjoyed the great friendship of Mr. William Redmond,

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whose last speech I heard, dressed as he was in Imperial khaki, before he went out to die for his country. Another gentlemen whose friendship I enjoyed was Prof. Kettlewell, an Irishman if ever there was one, who also laid down his life with our sons in France. I don't know that you have had the opportunity yet of hearing Mr. DeValera, but I may give you as a brief quotation from one of his speeches: "As far as England was concerned, the Irish people wished and hoped that Germany would win the war." I want to say that from my knowledge of Ireland and Irishmen I believe that to be a great slander upon the race. Such sacrifices they made; why, we need only mention one word, the Peninsula of Gallipoli. It is quite true that in the recent parliamentary elections Sinn Fein did in fact carry a majority of Irish seats, though not in the Northeastern section of Ulster. But since then there have been municipal elections in Ireland, fought not upon municipal issues but national issues, when there were 322,000 votes polled. And of those, only 87,000 were polled for Sinn Fein, or a quarter. The Labor polled 57,000, the Nationalists who manage to tolerate the oppression of Great Britain, polled 85,000; and the Nationalists who desire a solution other than independence polled 91,000. Therefore the Sinn Fein vote was very much under 50 per cent.

The grievances of Ireland have been, I suppose, four fold—religious, financial, agrarian, and parliamentary. For a moment I will just, if you will allow me, consider how far each of these grievances has been dealt with. The Bishop at my side knows very well that the Penal Laws which were applied to Ireland, have been entirely removed. We have to remember that they arose out of the repressive measures taken during the Reformation against the Protestants by the Catholics, and they were to some extent reprisals. But, happily, they have been swept away.

Not only that, but Mr. Gladstone, followed by Mr. Birrell, rather more successfully with other statesmen, for thirty years endeavored to obtain a basis by which Irishmen themselves would agree to a system of University Education which would include Protestants and Catholics. And that great system has now been established, not indeed on lines of which all of us would approve, but on lines which are more than generous to all the religions concerned. And if you take the Elementary schools of Ireland, especially in the south and west, I doubt if there has been any system of education in which a great dominant faith like the Catholic faith has had greater influ-

ence. Therefore, as to any grievance continuing out of the memories of the Penal Laws, it has, I think by universal admission, been swept away.

Now, of course, the agrarian grievance, what we call the Land question, arose first because, unfortunately, the Norman conquest did not entirely end with subjecting my own country but passed over to some extent with the French language and the French Feudal system into Ireland. However, that again, I think, is a matter which has been put entirely straight. Seven hundred million dollars, raised entirely in London, where at the moment dollars have an especial value, has been spent upon a system of land purchase for the farmers, which is something utterly unknown in our own country. That money has been loaned at under three per cent. ; and, even including the sinking fund, should wipe off the debt in something like 68 or 70 years. I think it only carries three and a quarter or three and one-eighth per cent.—three and a quarter at the most.

We have gone even further than that. In the present bill we are proposing to hand back to Ireland the whole of that capital sum so that the annuity upon it will proceed directly into the Irish Exchequer, a gift amounting to something over one hundred dollars for every man, woman and child in the whole country. This is a gift by Great Britain, war-worn, finance-stricken, to the country which she desires to conciliate. Everyone knows that the farmers have quite unlimited labor, are prosperous. We have bought their foods and produce at their price, and they have doubled their deposits in what still remain, curiously enough, *our* savings banks. I do not want to spoil whatever may be described as my speech with reading a quotation which is vital, but I could give you the remarkable testimony of the revolution in social conditions in Ireland which was given by Mr. Redmond a year or two before his death.

Now I come, thirdly, to the financial grievances. It is perfectly true that up to thirty or forty years ago there was what the British Treasury agreed was over-taxation of Ireland. What was the condition in 1914, when war broke out? Not only was Ireland the only country in the world which was making no contribution whatever to her own defence, to any Imperial purpose, to any diplomatic service, army, navy, or national debt ; but, if you take the money raised in Ireland and set it against the money actually spent in Ireland on purely Irish service, she received between five and ten million dollars

a year more than she was paying. Since then there has been some alteration in position owing to the war; but in the last complete financial year the United Kingdom spent upon Imperial services \$2,750,000,000. Of those millions, 400 came from Scotland, 75½ only came from Ireland, with a larger population. Scotland paid \$80 per head, Britain as a whole paid \$65 per head, Ireland paid \$15 per head. And upon those figures there is based the charge of robbery and spoliation against the United Kingdom.

I am addressing business men, and I won't waste your time answering the erroneous statement that a restraint is to-day put upon the shipping progress of Ireland. I don't know what restraint has been put upon the shipping industry of Belfast, and it is curious that that is the very industry which does not want Ireland to be independent. If the enormous coal resources of Ireland are not developed; well, I don't know why they cannot be developed out of the loans which President DeValera is raising across the frontier. You know very well that in your own country there are enormous mineral deposits and so on, and that the only question is whether they can be developed on an economic basis. There is, of course, no tariff against Ireland, not, at any rate, by Great Britain. We welcome and we consume, not only Irish whiskey, but Guinness' Stout.

Now, therefore, I am reduced to the parliamentary grievance. If I may say, as one of those Englishmen who, you know, have no sense of humor, I am reduced to the fourth, or what is called parliamentary, grievance. Now let us examine that. In the first place, everyone knows that in the philosophy of government municipal politics are becoming more and more important as compared with National politics. Ireland has complete and absolute control as far as municipal government is concerned. When I went over to Dublin and saw housing conditions there I made particular enquiries whether the condition which was revealed to one's astonished eyes could be in any way attributed to incompetence from London. Rightly or wrongly, as before the Almighty who sees all things, the responsibility for those conditions rests with the corporation of Dublin itself.

The Mayor of Cork, who was recently expelled from the inner counsels of Sinn Fein (I understand so) and afterwards lost his life,—he was a freely elected mayor of the city; and the British Labor party, which just recently sent over a not unsympathetic commission to Ireland to look into things from the point of view of the working man, has issued a most inter-

esting report in which they point out that there is much more in this question than the mere setting up of a parliament in Dublin. I am not certain that even in the United States, a country where as an Englishman I have enjoyed the most boundless and lavish hospitality—I have never had an unkind word said to me in the years I have been there, and in the many hundreds of speeches which I have made I feel I must have offended their opinions—and yet, even in the United States I do not find that there is absolute unanimity upon the value and inviolability of their parliamentary institutions at Washington.

But I wish to say to you frankly that, in the opinion, I think, of most people, that great statesman William Pitt made one of those blunders which was perhaps worse than a crime when, instead of developing the parliamentary institutions of Ireland, he destroyed them. Anyway, there is to-day no statesman in the United Kingdom who is not convinced that there ought to be, immediately, restoration of legislative institutions in Ireland; and the difficulties lay wholly within Ireland herself.

Now, when the Home Rule Bill was put on the statute books, so strong was the feeling in the northeast portion of Ulster that they said not only did they disapprove of the bill but that they would resist it by force. The question was at once raised, therefore, whether it would be wise or politic to coerce Ulster into the acceptance of government by parliament—any government. In that matter the Liberal government of Mr. Asquith was advised, not by Sir Edward Carson merely;—but, far more intimately, by Mr. Redmond himself, by Dillon and Devlin; and all the leaders of the Nationalist party were against the policy of coercing Ulster. Gentlemen, I know how I am touching matters which very closely affect the hearts and consciences of us all. I am not therefore expressing any opinion myself upon the wisdom or unwisdom of any of those distinguished men. I am merely stating the facts of history. That is purely an academic question.

There was called, in August 1914, the famous round-table conference at Buckingham Palace which was opened with a speech from His Majesty the King, and I think I am right in saying that at that time Mr. Redmond himself was not prepared to accept the responsibility of administering the Home Rule Bill except with a settlement for Ulster. That conference broke down on a matter of definition as to what Ulster was. Did it consist of four counties or six counties? And, just as you have in Europe an Alsace-Lorraine; in Denmark,

Schleswig-Holstein; so in Ireland, which in these matters of public controversy is never behindhand, you have Fermanagh and Tyrone. And on Fermanagh and Tyrone that conference broke down.

In the meantime, there was arising a movement which in its origin was chiefly artistic and literary, the Sinn Fein movement. It had a motto, for which I confess I have not myself the highest admiration. Sinn Fein means "Ourselves Alone." Gentlemen, what would the world be to-day if your country and mine in August 1914 had adopted Sinn Fein, "Ourselves Alone," as a motto?

Well, gentlemen, I hope you will allow me to say that to which Mr. Lloyd George himself has given his authority, that our War Office in London, which has not always cultivated the highest qualities of delicate tact, somewhat failed to realize its opportunity with Ireland. There were great numbers of Catholics going into the army. Very few of them were permitted to be officers at first. And it was unfortunate that, just at a time when much might have been done by warm words of praise, the achievements and the sacrifices of many brave Irish regiments, which I saw marching out of London with the grey shadow of death already upon their faces, passed unnoticed in the reports from those heroic battlefields. Be that as it may, I don't think that anything can excuse or condone the outbreak of the rebellion. It is openly confessed in Irish literature that those disturbances were at any rate assisted from Berlin through the Irish-American party, or, I want to say, the party of extremists in that city. When the rebellion broke out, it led, as such events do, to mistakes on the right side; that is always the way when you have mistakes on the wrong side. And, of course, there was the most unfortunate judicial murder, as it was held by the courts to be, of Mr. Skeffington, which, I think we all as fair-minded men realized, was a bad business. But I must say frankly, that deep as must be the impression that event made upon the Irish minds it does not condone either the organized attempt to assassinate Lord French or a campaign of murder by masked men which recalls the excesses of the Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania a generation ago.

Now it is untrue that while these somewhat tragic occurrences were taking place, British statesmanship was idle. Quite frankly, we had other things to think of than Ireland. But on the very morrow of the rebellion a conference was proposed, a conference to consist exclusively of Irishmen to sit in Ireland,

to which English officials were to be admitted for the sole purpose of laying before them the data and information which was necessary to their consultation. Now, it may be a fact that among certain parties in England difficulties were made as to the recommendations of that conference; but the first and supreme fact about it was this, that on the morrow of the rebellion not only were the Sinn Fein leaders invited, but they were begged, to attend to throw their own ideas, whatever they might be, into the common stock, and to meet, not Englishmen and not even Scotchmen, not certainly Welshmen, but to meet their own fellow Irishmen and work out a solution of the Irish question. Those who were subsequently citizens of the United States worked out a solution of their American question, as you in Canada have been working out the constitution of your dominion.

Well, now, that conference failed. The present position is that we have on the statute book a Home Rule Act which comes into force when peace is declared with Turkey. Really, it is one of the most ironical and curious sidelights upon this whole question, that the problem of Ireland should have a time limit dependent upon the Sultan of Constantinople. As I understand it, of course I have not been in England for a year, Mr. Asquith's policy is to use the Home Rule Act, amending it so as to meet the case of Ulster. Mr. Lloyd George's policy is to substitute for it an entirely new measure giving not merely one parliament to Ireland, but even giving her two, assuring to those two parliaments every opportunity, and, indeed, every inducement, to unite with one another, and so unite the nation; and, in the meantime, link them together with a joint council of, I think I am right in saying, twenty members. Not only are those things secured in the Act, but forty Irish members are still to add what they have always added,—a certain delightful uncertainty—to the debates at Westminster. This bill is, therefore, at the moment the official policy of the British government. My paper happens to represent the opposition, but it is clearly my duty to put before you to-day what is the policy of the responsible authorities in Great Britain irrespective altogether of any political partisanship which may still lurk in my Imperial heart.

The argument for this bill is that it is based upon the precedents of the Dominions; that you here in Canada only achieved your unity by giving to each of your provinces the right to enter into the common Dominion by further consent;

and I understand that you still have menacing your eastern coasts the independent territory of Newfoundland. Then, the same policy was pursued in Australia; where the discontent was, I understand, New South Wales. But she came into the commonwealth of Australia by her own consent. In South Africa, there was Natal; and Natal came in by her own consent. In the case of the United States, of the original thirteen states, I believe, the last one to come in was the smallest. I am always interested in that state because it was from that state of Rhode Island that I had the privilege of selecting my wife. And I remind her sometimes that it was always the most difficult in the Union to manage. Happily for me at this moment, the lady in question is at a safe distance across the water.

The sentiment of Ulster is based upon religious feelings which I need not describe; however, also upon economic considerations. I discussed with leaders of Ulster why it was that they were so afraid of a parliament at Dublin. "Well," they said, "we are conducting industries. They are conducting agriculture. We are not entirely certain whether a Farmers' government will understand all our needs."* Gentlemen, I don't know what I have said. But the point is, really, for Belfast, an important one. They conduct the ship-building industry, on the one hand; and the linen industry, on the other hand. The whole of their coal, the whole of their iron, the whole of their wool, the whole of their flax, has to be imported as raw material; and Belfast would cease to exist as a competitor in neutral markets if the revenues of Ireland were to be swollen by tariff on their raw materials to relieve the farmers in the south and west of direct taxation.

Now, I understand that this has to be a very punctual speech, and I do not want to keep you too long. But possibly you might like to have one or two words as to the effect of this question upon Anglo-American relations in the United States. There are those who take a somewhat serious view of what has happened there. Undoubtedly, what I may call the Irish-American forces are using the present circumstances in their not unnatural endeavor to establish a solid block of votes which, in association with other blocks of votes, not to be precisely defined, might sway the presidential election; which is due to occur this Autumn. I think it is not impossible that

*This remark aroused the laughter of the audience, as the Ontario Farmer-Labor Government was then holding its first session.

the political activity of those combined forces has been an important contributory cause to the delay in the ratification of the treaty.

One matter of prejudice has been that "England" has six votes. Apparently, it is not generally known that the Dominion of Canada, for reasons of area, cannot be included within the little Island of England, even with Scotland; and, of course, what has happened has been that those who put forward that amendment have found themselves face to face, not with what they call England at all, but with rising nationhood, well defined and splendidly glorified nationhood, which you have in the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia, and so on. And, really, it is not an unarguable proposition that Canada, having lost almost if not quite as many men as the United States, should be denied in the League of Nations, which she did four or five years hard work to establish, the place which is secured to Haiti, where the freely elected president of the colored republic is an American Admiral, appointed at Washington.

Then there appeared on the scene Mr. DeValera. And I understand it is to him now that whatever funds are subscribed for the liberation of Ireland are apportioned. He has been demanding, only recently, full and complete sovereign independence for Ireland, so complete that Congress has been requested to appoint Consuls to the Irish Republic. Our objection from the British standpoint to that solution is this. I sailed the seas twice from Britain to the New World. I sailed them during the submarine menace. Once I crossed the very tract of ocean where sank the *Lusitania*. Next I crossed the tract off Ireland, where sank the *Tuscania*. The British position with regard to Ireland is not distinguishable from the Australian position with regard to the South Sea Islands. We say, we will give them every liberty except the liberty in association with some European power to cut off, not only the United Kingdom, but the whole of northern Europe and France as well from the New World, including yourselves.

President DeValera, as we are accustomed to call him, is now prepared, he says, to accept a form of Cuban Home Rule. On that basis, which I confess represents the entire fallacy of the whole Sinn Fein claim up to the present, it is possible that men so ingenuous of mind as the stupid Englishmen might perhaps form a basis of discussion. Cuban independence, of course, gives to the United States the absolute right, which is exercised, of establishing naval stations in the country, of land-

ing troops there, and even of arranging, as they are now doing, the constitutional system under which the presidential election was to take place.

Gentlemen, I think it would not be wise for me to say more than a word or two upon the possibility that this question has been inflamed on one side or the other by religious forces. The only thing I will say is this. I am a Protestant. It is possible that there may be other Protestants here present to-day. We all take off our hats and bow our heads before great liberal-minded Catholics, of whom Cardinal Mercier or your own statesman Laurier were world-wide examples. But it is idle to deny that in any church you may get what I may call extreme or clerical forces, which seek to subordinate the broader aspects of citizenship to what, I think, are wrongly conceived to be the special spiritual needs of the communion in question. I can imagine that the Italian mind, so marvellous in its ingenuity, may possibly have been afraid of what was seen to be the manifest rising influence in the world, of the Anglo-Saxon, or English-speaking, communities. With the fall of Austria and the impoverishment of Spain, they may have been afraid. To them I would say this, in what English speaking community, including your own in Quebec, in what such community can you find anywhere a condition other than of absolute religious toleration for the Catholics, to whatever church, Roman or Eastern, they may belong.

I cannot believe for a moment that the spiritual influence of any church is wisely exercised in contradiction to that which, after all, was one of the chief objectives of the Prince of Peace; namely, the peace of the world, the prosperity and happiness of those who are brought within the sound of what we may still in Canada call the Good Book, or the gospel of Him who came to unite all nations. What I fear, I frankly confess, is not so much the embarrassment of England, if I may use that term, as the isolation of Ireland. It is very possible for a nation towards which there has been extended an unusual measure of generous sympathy and a great wave of public affection,—it is possible for such a nation at a time of world crisis, if I may say so, to capitalize her grievances and to weary the heart and ear of mankind with that which cannot be established in solid fact.

For that reason, I would earnestly suggest to those who, like myself and like you, realize the importance of a settlement of this question, that we should work, not for controversy, but for peace. Each side should seek what of good

it can find in the other side, that from the association of those elements which are all the bitterer because they are different from one another, there may arise a new, united, yet still varied Ireland; to please the world with her music, with her poetry, with her ideals, and with all those gifts with which Providence has so liberally endowed what I believe to be a great and gallant, though sometimes misunderstood, people. Gentlemen, I thank you.

(April 19, 1920.)

“John Bull and Uncle Sam”

BY MR. WM. F. WILE.*

Mr. President and Fellow North Americans,—I have been only a few hours across that imaginary line which separates completed drought from interesting possibilities; but I feel myself, in this company, very much at home. I felt at home within an hour of getting here last night, for I found myself in an overheated room. I found ice water on the table, and I found that streets are repaired at night in Toronto. But I am very glad to be among folk who speak and understand the North American language. I feel it a compliment, as I hope you do, that people in England refer to you and to us younger Canadians as the people who between them made English the *common* language.

I can never speak of language and nationality without remembering how a distinguished citizen of New York, who rejoiced in the fine old Anglo-Saxon name of Patrick Murphy, once defined his origin. He said he was American by residence, English by language, Irish by extraction, and Scotch-and-soda by choice. Nor can I think of Murphy without thinking of the definition once given of the four races that make up the United Kingdom; an Englishman loves his bible and his beer; the Scotchman keeps the Sabbath and anything else he can lay his hands on; the Welshman prays on his knees on Sunday and on his neighbors for the rest of the week; while the Irishman, bejabers, doesn't know what he wants and won't be happy until he gets it.

I have often wanted to come to Canada; but, heretofore, have never come any nearer realizing my ambition than to be a bank clerk, which, in the old days, seemed to hold out certain possibilities in that direction. I would like to say that before I degenerated into a scribe and after-luncheon spell-binder I was a bank clerk in Chicago, and a bank clerk in an institution that was the outgrowth of the local branch of the Canadian

*Mr. Wile was for many years correspondent in Berlin to the leading United States and English Newspapers. During the War he was a special Correspondent in Great Britain, and is now a Washington Correspondent for the "Philadelphia Public Ledger."

Bank of Commerce, and I learned what little I managed to absorb of the business at the hands of two very splendid Canadian bankers; who, if I am not mistaken, came from the Ontario—an metropolis of Peterboro'. I was more anxious to get to Canada than the story they tell of a native of my sainted state of Indiana, who, having abandoned the hope of making a career in God's country, fell on his knees one night in a moment of dejection and desperation; and in an attitude of supplication said, "Good-by God, I am going to Canada." Now that prayer was mis-punctuated. That prayer should have been a prayer of rejoicing, and it should read, "Good; by God! I am going to Canada."

Friends, I am mighty glad to be on the soil from which sprang the men who have won such imperishable glory for the whole North American name at Paschendale and Vimy. I am proud to be in the land from which Arthur Currie, that war-giant, comes. The other night, at a meeting of the Canadian Club in New York, I heard read for the first time that amazing and beautiful piece of English,—Currie's order to the Canadian corps on the night before the critical struggle for Amiens. I was not surprised to hear the President of the Canadian Club of New York say that that beautiful piece of English, translated into French, was by the order of the French government displayed and ordered to be displayed perpetually on the walls of every school in the republic. Mr. President, I hope that ways and means will be found of circulating that order in the United States, for I know of no piece of English, with the possible exception of Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg, more inspiring than Currie's order on that historic occasion.

The other day, in Washington,—that metropolis of rumour, recrimination, and remorse, where I now practise the profession of chasing the nimble item,—a distinguished American of national renown told me that he had been approached by one or two Canadians who had asked him to launch in the United States an agitation in favor of the annexation of Canada; and assured him that such a movement would meet a responsive echo in the Dominion. That distinguished American, being a man of great sagacity and common sense, said that the persons who made that proposal must be gravely misinformed as to the state of public opinion in the United States. He told them that there was no man outside of a lunatic asylum in the United States who would participate in such an agitation and he doubted whether there were any men at liberty in the Dominion who would support such a campaign.

The relations at present existing between Canada and the United States are very much indeed to our liking. We glory in your progress. We are sharing very materially in it; because, as may not be known to some of you, we are already selling to the Dominion of Canada every year twice as much goods as we export to the whole of South America combined. It may not be known to all of you that Canada to-day sells us more goods than any other country on the face of the earth, with the single exception of Japan. I came across the statistics only during the week-end, and I confess they were positively startling; but they indicate to me that the commercial relations between the Dominion and the United States are of such a calibre that should fill no American with any particular desire to change the relationship that now prevails.

There stands before you a prodigal son who is returning to his native North American heath after nearly twenty years exile on the other side of the Atlantic. Thirteen years of that time were spent in Germany,—with frequent intervals in civilization. Six or seven years were spent in Great Britain. After those six or seven years, being of a fairly observant turn of mind, I think I have begun,—just begun,—to understand British character. During the war, I made it a point, as far as opportunities presented themselves of interrogating thousands of American soldiers and sailors who were in the British Islands on their way to or from the Great Adventure in France as to their conception of the Britisher and of Britain; and I found that nine-tenths of these impressionable youths came to England and left England with the stereotyped misconceptions of British character that most of us Yanks cherish who have never set foot on that soil.

I found that our boys, almost without exception, were of the opinion that the average Britisher was an exceedingly chilly proposition, with all the qualities of a poker except its occasional warmth. Our boys came to the conclusion that every man woman and child in that island seemed bent on looking, and growing up, and acting as much as possible like an animated ice-berg. I told those fellows when I got them together, as I did periodically, that what Americans had for ever so long misinterpreted as coldness and reserve to the point of down-right rudeness in the average Britisher, is nothing in the world but shyness. And I'd like to tell you how I found it out.

I am the proud possessor of a 12-year-old boy, who will have to grow up under the handicap, seeing he was not born

in the United States, that he can never become the president of the United States. We removed to England in August 1914 under circumstances beyond my control. We decided to send that young hyena of ours to a typical English boarding school for boys of his age. We sent him to that pretty little sea-side town of Eastbourne. When he went down there he was a typically red-blooded, michievous young American,—a holy terror. Four years of English school training have turned him into a human icicle. He now comes home for his vacations so tame, so reserved, so modest, so shy, that his parents almost feel they need a letter of introduction to him.

The first time I went down to Eastbourne to visit that boy I jumped out of the train along with thirty or forty other parents on a similar mission. We discovered our progeny distributed along the platform waiting for us, and when I had placed my boy I dared to rush up to him in my wild impulsive way and embrace him. When that operation was over, that boy of mine, assuring himself that none of his English school mates could see or hear him, led me down to a deserted part of the platform and whispered in my ear, "Dad, next time you come down here, if you want to kiss me will you please wait until we get to the hotel?" When we got to the hotel I put that youngster in the witness-box. I learned that he was being brought up on a system that teaches that hearts were given to them to keep where God placed them, and where they cannot be revealed to anybody on earth. Under no circumstances must hearts be worn upon sleeves. Under no consideration must any Englishman let any living soul know what is going on behind his brow or behind his bosom. And that convinced me that that system of training is at the bottom of the system which breeds a race of men and women who are determined to create upon their fellow human beings the impression that they are indeed inanimate objects.

I learned something else about my boy's English school training. As far as out door sport was concerned, he was growing up on a weird thing called cricket. I wonder how many of you have ever seen a game of cricket. Personally I never have been able to keep awake at a game of cricket, for the game usually takes three whole days to play. It takes exactly one hour and thirty minutes to play a game of baseball. Cricket is slow, conservative, cautious, lady-like. Baseball is rapid, impulsive, rough house, and radical. And in the difference between cautious cricket and impulsive baseball I believe we come very near indeed to getting down to bed-

rock distinction between the British and American characters.

I told the American dough-boys that although cricket was to them uninteresting and lady-like it had accomplished its important object; namely, that it is the institution which trains British character in the making. I told them of that splendid expression in England that when a man or a woman or a child has done something dishonorable or small; the slang expression is, "they have not played cricket." I told them what Wellington meant when he said that Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. He meant that the guards of Britain, who smashed the power of Napoleon, had been enabled to achieve that decisive result because they had to employ on that occasion lessons taught on the cricket fields of Britain; lessons of fighting hard and fighting clean, right through to the bitter end, no matter what the cost.

I tried to tell them what Britishers mean when they sing "God Save the King." I told them that they prayed God might save Britain, that the King was only a symbol of British principles and British freedom. I tried to make them understand that in Great Britain to-night there is just as much liberty to the square inch as there is in the United States; because, according to the latest accounts, you can still get a drink over there. I told them that Britain went into the war for the same reason that we did, to see that honor and freedom should not vanish from the face of the earth. I told them that Britain and her Dominions the world over were prepared to be bled white, for the same reasons that we were prepared to give all we had and all we were for the same cause.

I told them I hoped they would become the fathers of children in the United States who would be brought up on somewhat different teachings of United States history than I was brought up on. I told them that I hoped the day would come when we would be taught in our public schools that George III. was not a British King at all, but an importation from Germany who never until his dying day could read or write in the language of Shakespere. I told them, I hoped the day would come when our youngsters would be taught that, of the eight million people who inhabited the British Isles in 1770, less than one-third had a vote. All those things should be taught side-by-side with Bunker Hill and the Boston Tea Party, and Yorktown. Alongside those things, in Heaven's name, why not teach the other thing, so our boys and girls can grow up with a true perspective—with history as it was, and not as it has been written in our text-books in the United States by German and Irish writers.

I mentioned Ireland. It is thin ice, and I am not a good skater. But no discussion of British-American affairs would be complete without a brief mention of Ireland. I am a friend of Ireland's. That self-same youngster of whom I spoke is to-day at an Irish Catholic school, where I myself was brought up. The best friend I have got in the world was my class-mate at Notre Dame, now a Catholic priest. I sympathize with the aspirations of the Irish race for a square deal. I believe Great Britain owes a square deal to Ireland; also she owes a square deal to the British Empire. I would no sooner think of giving Ireland absolute and unqualified independence than the United States thought of giving Cuba absolute and unqualified independence when we passed the Platt amendment giving us control over Cuba's foreign affairs. I have tried to tell American friends that it is territorial, not political, necessity that requires the Emerald Isle to remain part of the British Imperial system. I have asked them to tell me, if they can, what the English side of the Irish case is; and precious few knew it.

Because you Britishers, with your invincible refusal to blow your own horn, have let Sinn Fein into the United States. You have not spoken up. You have not told Americans the facts; that Ireland, far from being oppressed and tyrannized, is the one absolutely unoppressed portion of the British Empire. You have failed to tell the people of the United States that Irishmen do not have to fight the Empire's battles unless they want to. You have not told them that Ireland suffered no restriction of its drink, suffered no restriction of its food, and had to endure—for very good reasons—no German air raids. You have not told them that Ireland to-day is revelling in the utmost economic and industrial prosperity in Ireland's history. These things have not been told; and that is why, my friends, the opinion has started to spread that John Bull is trampling Ireland under his heel. I advise you, before it is too late, to spread the English conception of the Irish question; because, even to that question, there are two sides. I would advise you, before it is too late, to climb down from the tower of silence which you fancy and turn and tell the truth about your conceptions of the Irish controversy.

I said a moment ago I had lived a long time in Germany. I want to tell you a few facts about Germany. I tell you, out of the depths of a very intimate acquaintance with German psychology; I tell you solemnly, that although Germany is down, she is not out. I tell you solemnly, that we are dealing

with a German people that, in defeat and, temporarily, in domestic chaos, is absolutely unrepentant and unregenerated. We are dealing with a German people who have one solitary regret about the war; and that is, that they lost it. That German people would to-morrow revert to all the indescribable horrors which they employed three or four years ago—to reconquer everything they lost, if they could. I ask you to believe with me that France is right in doing what she is. Foch knows his Boche. France has lived alongside Germany for many years now. She has suffered the agonies and terrors of German invasion. France, for four years, knew the horrors of German occupation and what German occupation means; and I tell you, that if you and I had had sisters taken into Germany in captivity and something worse—women folk of ours who to-day are the mothers of German babies—if your fair province of Ontario and my sainted Indiana lay in ruins from the ravages of a German army of occupation; you and I would not blame France for what she is doing towards throwing back the German terror.

I happen to be a Yankee out of fashion in my own country at present, because I seize every possible opportunity to confess publicly to the wisdom and necessity of friendship between British nations and my own. I say it is unfashionable at present in the United States to espouse that doctrine; but, as I am not a candidate for office, I can for the moment speak freely. I would say that I would be satisfied with a League of Nations that comprised the one hundred and sixty million white people who between them speak the tongue of Chaucer and of Lincoln. I believe that such a union can dominate the world's affairs without domineering them; that such a union would be good for Britain, would be good for British dominions everywhere, would be good for the United States, and would be good for all decent and liberty-loving people throughout God's foot-stool. I would not be so foolish as to stand before an audience of Britishers and say that you are universally beloved in my country. That is not right. It would be equally grotesque for me to pretend to an audience of Americans that they are universally beloved throughout lands over which the Union Jack floats. That would be equally wrong. But I do say to my people at home that, despite the voice of hostility and rancour and, sometimes, ego, that occasionally comes across the ocean to us from the British Isles—that the hearts of the overwhelming bulk of the British people beat sound and firm for friendship with the people of my own land.

I am not blind to the fact that the years that lie immediately ahead of us are bound to see vigorous combats between your Empire and our Republic. I know perfectly well that John Bull realizes that he has to face very vigorous rivalry in the peaceful routes of the world at the hands of this vigorous, aggressive and ambitious young giant of the Western world. I am aware of the British impost on the British people, merely to pay interest on the huge war debt of four and a half billion dollars that the war piled up in our favor against you. I know that John Bull feels he must drink less tea and play less golf if he is to hold his own in the race of nations. But I have told American friends they are dwelling in a fool's paradise if they imagine John Bull is to be caught asleep at the switch. I have told them that a nation that could pull itself together as John Bull pulled himself together between August 1914 and the armistice is quite capable of holding its end up in any emergency.

The plain truth, my friends, is that the United States at present is swept by a very unfortunate, deplorable wave of anti-British feeling. It has its root in many causes. Sinn Fein is one of them, but not the only one. There is a presidential election on. That has been a fight for the League of Nations, and the subject has made very excellent campaign material for one of our great political parties. But I make you a confident prophecy that when the smoke of the presidential battle has finished, as it will in God's goodness,—and none too soon,—in a very few months—I make you the confident prophecy that British-American relations will speedily find their normal and natural level. I make you the further prophecy that Americans again, after the Presidential elections, will revert again, as far as public sentiment is concerned, to the high ideals that inspired the United States three years ago this very month when we went to war. I make you the confident prediction that altruism and idealism is the spirit that will again reign over the Republic. I am convinced that the American people are ready, in their good time, once again to do their full duty toward the world.

And we have a duty. Again, it is unfashionable for men to stand up in the United States to-day and proclaim that we have a duty. The popular thing, and the selfish thing, in public to do in my country is to talk about Americanism; and to define it as meaning a world that consists of that part of the world bounded on the north by Canada, on the west by the Pacific ocean, on the South by the Gulf of Mexico and on

the east by the Atlantic. There is a spirit in America to-day, —rolling as we know in billions of wealth, wealth beyond the dreams of any nation in history,—that says, "The world and the future belong to us." I prefer to believe with Victor Hugo; who wrote of Napoleon, speaking of a time that might come when defeat and disaster might overtake a great conqueror, "The world belongs to nobody. The future belongs to nobody. To-morrow belongs to God." I believe that America will not belie all history. I believe that America must prepare for a politically rainy day, as all great nations in the past have had to prepare. And I believe our people are going to realize the time will come when we shall need a great, powerful friend. I believe we are coming to realize that the day has arrived when we ought to bring our political house into order; that we shall look for those friends where they are most naturally to be found, where Admiral Dewey looked for them at Manila.

I come from a country now presided over by a stricken ruler, who perhaps at this hour is at the zenith of his unpopularity. I risk you Canadians a further prediction, that the day will come when the name of Woodrow Wilson will be revered in history. I have prophesied that the day will come when his name will be remembered, when the names of his critics and detractors are long-since forgotten. I prophesy that the day will come when Woodrow Wilson, the apostle of American idealism, will be universally and internationally renowned. I am not a partisan of Woodrow Wilson. He has made indefensible, asinine, blunders. But, in pointing out to Americans their duty to the world and civilization, he has enunciated a doctrine, I believe, that the American people in their overwhelming majority support.

Mr. President, my time has expired. I will go on only long enough to say it has been a great privilege to be among you. I appreciate the quiet patience with which you have listened to these rambling remarks. I wish to express the hope that this first visit of mine to this metropolis of the Dominion may not prove to be the last.

(May 3, 1920.)

Major-General Sir Charles Townshend, G.C.B., D.S.O.*

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen;—You will understand it is rather hard for me to express the gratification and pride for the way in which you have received me as your guest to-day. When I got your telegram in New York asking me to come I realized at once that it was not only a pleasure for me to come here; but it was more than that, it was my duty. You will understand that I am delighted to come to-day; I was delighted with my reception by the mayor to-day; and I take it as a compliment, not only to me but to those gallant lads who served under me. As you know, there are very few of them left.

I will make my story as short for you as I can. The President has referred to the battles of Kut, Ctesiphon, my retreat to Kut, and of the defence of Kut. I propose to add what I think will interest you, how I brought the Turk out of the war, because you will see by bringing the Turk out of the war—mind you, as a prisoner of war—I shortened the war, I am glad to say, by several months, and in the words of Mr. Clemenceau, “saved millions of money and thousands of lives.” Well, you know, gentlemen, it is a great satisfaction to me as a “prisoner of war diplomatist,” if I may use the word, to succeed where I failed with the handful of men given to me for a task so large, as I said at the time, that even Bonaparte would despair, and I know Hannibal would have turned his back.

I was given 13,000 men when I was ordered to the Tigris and to advance towards Bagdad. We drove the Turks out of Kurna, a position of intense difficulties, and where I only succeeded by my opponent being faint-hearted and not continuing the battle. In Kurna, those who read my book will find that owing to the great flood the difficulty of attacking my enemy was great and I had to put my infantry in boats.

*General Townshend is the hero of the defence of Kut-el-Amarah. He is the great grandson of the General Townshend who was second in command to Wolfe at Quebec.

To my astonishment, the Turks began to retreat when had I been in their general's place I would have guaranteed to have wiped out the British forces entirely. Such is the fortune of war, and I think of Sylla's words after his victories when he declared he was lucky rather than a great general. Success, like charity and religion, covers a multitude of sins.

Having taken Kurna and captured Amarah, a town 90 miles to the north, in that pursuit of 90 miles I managed to clean up the country and move on Amarah, the Turks surrendering in large numbers. At daybreak I launched my forces in a small river battle steamer with a few iron plates nailed on it and the Turks at Amarah surrendered to me and my crew, consisting of 25 blue jackets and 6 marines.

After that, gentlemen, I prepared for my advance against Kut, a more important town, strategically speaking, at the junction of the Tigris and the Hai. I went back to India for a month while preparations were made, to see the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Beauchamp Duff. I said to him after dinner in his study in his beautiful house in the hills, "It isn't for me to point out to you, sir, the dangers of taking the offensive in a secondary theatre of war with inadequate forces. It isn't for me to point out to you that a secondary theatre should be held by minimum forces on the defensive, but if you want to send me against Baghdad," (which was what I had in my mind they were going to do as they were so pleased with what I had done already)—"if you intend to send me against Baghdad, I hope you will make me up to 40,000—30,000 or 40,000,—and then I will guarantee not only to take Baghdad, but to hold it against heavy attacks which I know will be delivered against it." He said to me, "You are quite right. Not an inch will you go beyond Kut unless I make you up to 40,000." I told His Majesty that when I came back from captivity a year ago.

With those words I left town; and, travelling night and day, reached my troops, now ready to advance. The climate was deadly. Many of my men were taken to hospital from fever. The climate of Mesopotamia in the winter is like Egypt, but in the summer I have never in all my experience encountered any other climate like Mesopotamia, and my experience embraces the Red Sea and the Punjab in the hot weather; but each of them have to touch their caps to Mesopotamia in the way of mortality of the troops.

I knew that in front of me the Turk was entrenched in

very strong positions. Between me and Kut he had approximately the same number of troops as I had. He had all modern guns, wire entanglements in position, stretching in front of six or seven miles of earth works; one flank resting on the river, the other on the desert. According to Moltke, the correct way is to occupy your adversary in the front with minimum forces while you make the principal effort against his flank. I carried that out in the night and rolled up the enemy like we roll up a blanket, and it was a very fine victory. So the road to Baghdad lay open before me.

Having won that battle, I thought "Now I am going to make myself solid in what I have gained." We controlled the whole of the rich territory of Mesopotamia and there we intended to wait until the Allies took a decisive offensive in the Western theatre. We were going to rest there until we got an order to advance with huge forces. I saw myself, in command very likely, with a huge army and I was delighted with the chance of finding myself perhaps a Marshal. I had been soldiering ever since I was a boy of eighteen, in every war, I think, England has had. Well, gentlemen, I was disappointed. I got ordered on in spite of insufficient forces. My orders were to advance and take Baghdad. Having had the assurance from the Commander-in-Chief that I should not go unless I was made up to 30,000 or 40,000 men, I had my forces now reduced to 8,500 men—you who are soldiers amongst you will think what my task was—8,500 men, mind you, and it is on your bayonets you win the battles! You may have all the guns in the world, but the time comes when you have got to go in and the bayonets are going to win.

Well, I had perhaps 12,000 or 13,000, all told, gunners, engineers, and so on, yet the men on whom I had to rely to win the battle were 8,500, the Turks in a position which rather resembled Plevna, of great strength, entrenched on the site of the Ancient city of Ctesiphon. This is the city which came into history by the victories of the Romans under the Emperor Justinian, when he drove the Persians out of Mesopotamia at the time when Mesopotamia was perhaps the most flourishing country in the world; and it was these great wars between the Persians and the Romans which made it desolate as it is to-day.

I pursued the same tactics. I knew in this position I had 24,000 Turks against me. Mind you, there was no retreat

for me! I had to win the battle or we should be wiped out. To win, I know I must come to close quarters, to grips. There was no good trying to play at long bowls. I made a big turning movement around the enemy's flank at night and at daylight fell on them as at Kut, and it was a sight good for your eyes to see, about three hours afterwards, the whole Turkish Army completely routed before me.

I ordered a general advance and thought that fortune was smiling on me then and that I was going into Baghdad with this handful, and I got on my horse and galloped as far as I could. We carried the second position, took all their guns. All of a sudden, a fresh army arrived, adding to the Turkish strength about 24,000 men. This army did what Blucher did to Napoleon at Waterloo. I found after that desperate fighting that I would have to fight the whole battle over again. There was no retreat, and I had the unique experience of seeing what defeat must look like. No man was running away, but they were coming back sullenly in groups. Casualties were very great, and control was lost over the men. I set the staff to work with me in rallying the men, and delivered a second, and even a third, attack, I and my staff going into the fire with the men. There are times when a general must do that, when you must do that. You will find a lot of platitudes in the books that modern commanders must remain miles behind; but, believe me, if you try to dodge with defeat staring you in the face you are jolly well going to be routed. You have got to go into the fire with the men and turn defeat into victory, and that is what I did. When night came I stood victor with the Turks in full retreat. But what a victory! I found, as soon as they could count the ranks, I had 4,000 men left standing up. That will give you the quality of the troops I had with me.

There was no question of going on. The Turkish Army was then, my aeroplanes told me, entrenched behind the river waiting for me to come on. The only thing I could do was to give out that I intended to remain at Ctesiphon, get up supplies and make that our defence position. That was to give confidence, as you can imagine, to my troops. It really meant my first move in retreat. I removed every wounded man I had. I did not leave a gun behind. Four days afterwards we quietly slipped off when the enemy were coming down to envelope my flank. During that retreat I halted during

the night, turned around and succeeded in wiping out the whole of the advance guard of about 4,000. After that I continued my retreat unmolested.

They stopped and left me and I arrived at Kut and there I made my decision to stand at Kut. Mind you, as a student of history I knew what the danger was. I had the example of Metz in my mind, even of Cornwallis at Yorktown. I know that when a force once digs itself in and remains to let the enemy forces flow around and trusts to help—I don't know of two cases in history where that force is ever saved. Ladysmith I knew was relieved after a siege of four months, but then Ladysmith was entirely different, because the Boers were not organized, and you know they never could be got to attack, and their gun power was very weak. But here against me I had an army of civilized troops, at least an army of troops trained on civilized methods, officered almost entirely by Germans.

Well, I took this decision to stand. I said to the government in my message, "I intend to stand at Kut, with your permission, because by standing we shall remedy the great mistake of advancing with inadequate forces. It will give you time to bring reinforcements from overseas, and so restore the situation. Otherwise, if I retreat down the Tigris we shall get kicked out of Mesopotamia and the whole of the Arabs will rise behind us. Von der Goetz will move down the river and so it may be we shall get kicked out of Mesopotamia." That was my telegram to the Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia; and the reply came, "We will relieve you in two months. Stand where you are." I had two months' supplies for all the men I had with me—and I must tell you I found two Indian regiments at Kut. In addition, two-and-a-half battalions and a British cavalry regiment joined me at Kut. The Turks rapidly came up and surrounded me, and sent the bulk of their forces down to prevent any relieving force from reaching me, whilst with their smaller force they surrounded me.

I had the Tigris on two sides of me, a river which at Kut is about 500 yards broad; with, say, a ten to twelve knot current, extremely rapid—I mention this to show you I had only one side on which to break out, and on that side were the Turkish entrenchments quickly thrown up. They were a short rifle-range from me in trenches. I mention that fact to you to show, as you know, that there are no miracles in

war. I have never been criticised officially. Never a word of criticism have I received from any official of the War Office or Government in any measure for any order I have ever given. The only thing was that when my book came out there was criticism in the press,—only one, mind you,—because the review of that book has been wonderful. But there was one paper that criticised unfavorably—of course I need hardly tell you the critic was nameless. He would not come into the open. I can imagine that gentleman would have crossed the Tigris. I remember well the rebuke of the Marshal to the Minister of War. The Minister of War said, "Why didn't you cross right here?" The Marshal said, "Yes, I certainly could have crossed at that spot had your finger been a bridge."

On Christmas Day, the Turks delivered a great assault upon me and forced their way in. Kut nearly fell that night, but by daylight, owing to the folly of the Turkish commander in not reinforcing his storming columns, I was able to throw them out and we once more stood victorious. That prevented the Turks from ever again assaulting. It took the heart out of them. Never again could the Commander-in-Chief get his men to face our fire and bayonets and grenades after that. Although I lost pretty heavily that night in repulsing them, still it was a pretty cheap night altogether for me because it took all the steam out of my adversaries.

We were surrounded rapidly by batteries which fired night and day. The more they fired into me the more I dug down; and our casualties, at first about 200 to 250 per week, dwindled down to 70 and 80, which was an ordinary average. He had German aeroplanes which quickly got the mastery of the air, and they bombed us night and day. Truly, we knew all the joys of life at once. I have seen men shouting with laughter when a German aeroplane came over us, remaining in the open as long as they could, then they ran under some archway to watch it go over, down came his shells, usually killing some donkey or unfortunate Arab woman. But on the whole, I found the aeroplane a very much overrated danger. I know the value of the aeroplane for reconnaissance. But when you get into a hole like that, we found that by digging down we had very few casualties from the aeroplanes.

I was in wireless touch with the commandant of the force trying to relieve me, but he was up against large numbers. And the Turks entrenched in position are the most formidable

fighters I know of. In fact, I know of cases at Gallipoli where the Germans would not remain in trenches under gunfire, and were replaced by the Turks who stuck it out. It will show you the value of the Turkish soldier in defence. In the open, he cannot compare with our men. The Turk is a most stubborn fighter under cover, but get him in the open and it is a different proposition.

I tried to keep the hopes of the men up by issuing communiques and by bulletins, what you call "general orders" of the army. I took the men entirely into my confidence, I threw red tape overboard altogether and I think I succeeded in winning their confidence, which continued as the siege went on. The British troops were composed of the Norfolks, the Dorsets, and the Oxford Light Infantry, names greatly distinguished in history, and the 43rd,—all regiments well connected with the past. I want to tell you that as their hopes went down the British troops got better and better, but not so the Indian troops. That is the worst of the Indian troops. They do splendidly while you are gaining, but when disaster stares you in the face, when you are under great stress, his morale sinks down and the fighting value of these men who had helped me so much on other occasions—well, I don't know what they would have done had I got them in the open.

I had only two months' food supply and two months were quickly up. What I tried to do was to think how to get home with some food. I remembered by being with Lord Kitchener in the Sudan that the Arab invariably hides his food; and I had up all the principal men, I suppose seven or eight representatives from the town of Kut which I enclosed in my position. I told them I knew they had all concealed food and if they didn't produce it by sunset I was extremely sorry to tell them I should have to shoot the lot. There was no Press to report me to the House of Parliament and you will not be surprised to hear I had several tons by sunset. That enabled me to keep the camp going for nearly five months.

I began to think of attempting to cut my way through, but the Commander-in-Chief of Mesopotamia gave me orders to do nothing of the kind. He said, "We will relieve you in the end." (Time is going on and I must just touch on the main events.) At last I got word from the Commander-in-Chief that I could not be relieved, "Make what terms you can." By that time hardly any food was left. We were all on quarter rations. I do not know how the men kept body

and soul together. The men were dying at the rate of 20 and 24 a day, dropping dead in their tracks from starvation. Hundreds were down with dysentery. You know I tried to get vegetables in the seed by getting the seed dropped from aeroplanes, and the vegetables came up, but hardly enough for the hospitals, so my garden business was not a success. The attempt to put food into Kut by aeroplane failed because we had not got command of the air. The German planes spotted them and downed them when they came along. Several times when they got food in it was utterly inadequate to what was required.

Well, gentlemen, as I told you, the end came in five months, when my men could no longer handle arms. Had the Turk assaulted me we must have fallen. The men had no longer strength to fight. If I had had to march two miles I do not think there was a man who could have done it. Hundreds of men lost their teeth. It was a most extraordinary thing. Every kind of ailment sets in as soon as you stop a man's food. From eating horse meat the men rapidly were taken down with dysentery until one was afraid to touch it. I am just trying to give you an idea of what the troops suffered. And on top of that we were digging night and day to keep the water from washing us out like rats. Abnormal floods prevented the relieving forces from reaching us. The Turks cut the canals, entirely flooded us out. I only want you to understand that nothing short of a miracle could have got us out of that place—and there are no miracles in the twentieth century. If there had been I might have got out of Kut,—not otherwise.

I offered to cut my way out if 700 would come with me. That is to say, to run the blockade in a small gun-boat, and to take on board that boat 700 men who might volunteer. It would certainly have been blown out of the water with all the enemy's guns around me, but my idea was, I would rather go out like that—and we might get through, you never know,—and take with me the most useful men. But the Commander-in-Chief wired back to me, I think he was right now, "No, I regret very much, in that case I think your place is to remain in Kut." He was quite right, only the terrible thing that obsessed me was that I should have to put my name to a capitulation; I, who had gone through all these terrible trials, not through my own fault, as everybody knows in this Empire. I had the traditions of the past, also. It is not as if I had served casually in the army. It had been my dream, I don't

mind telling you. I am no stranger to Canada, and I had always held as my model in life my great-grandfather, to whom, as most of you know, Quebec surrendered.

I am no stranger in Canada. Sir George Townshend, second in command to Wolfe at the battle of the Heights of Abraham—you remember that he held the wounded general in his arms—took the surrender and with that surrender you got the whole of North America. That is sufficient tradition for me in the army, and for me of all people to have to sign this dreadful surrender. I often prayed that some friendly shell would finish the thing. But some people say the devil always looks after his own. At Ctesiphon a shell dropped at my feet and covered me with mud and sand and the whole staff thought I had been blown to pieces. I didn't even have a scratch on my finger.

There was no way out but surrender. Directly Kut fell the Turks offered me my liberty. When I offered the Commander-in-Chief my sword he said, "No, take it back. You have worn it with honor. You must always wear it. We will treat you as we were treated after the fall of Plevna. For we compare the defence of Kut with the defence of Plevna." These wonderful words from our enemy the Turk! So they took me away at once, offering me my liberty. They offered me my personal liberty and said I was free to depart to England. But who could have done that and have left those officers and men? No, that was impossible to do. As you can well understand, I never could have gone home that way. I got the Turkish commander to give a written statement that my men should be treated with honor and care. I was taken away to Constantinople.

Now gentlemen, in life people talk about honors and rewards and degrees. There is much heart-burning over that question. Every man feels it deep down in his heart when his friend or his enemy gets something, gets promotion over his head, gets this reward or that. In this way the vanity of man, by Jove, is the same as the vanity of woman, only worse! You will understand that now, after that, why really it has done me great good, for I don't care a damn in life for rewards or decorations or honors when I think of those men, officers and men, gallant comrades, who watched me go away. They cheered me as long as I was in sight. There is confidence, gentlemen! No one can give me any reward adequate to that.

Now, you would think I had been expected at Constantinople. I arrived at the station wearing my sword, with the Minister

of War to meet me, a prisoner of war. They evinced the greatest of respect for me. The only drawback was—there was a Turkish band at the station, and you know a Turkish band! They even gave me choice of houses. If I preferred to live at the British Embassy it was at my disposal. But I thought I had quite enough worries without having a fight with the Foreign Office when I got there. So you can imagine I chose the more modest and humble island of Prinkipo which is the Brighton of Constantinople. Well, in that place in those two years I wondered I did not go mad. You can understand, waking up every morning in a place like that. However well I was treated, I was still a prisoner and out of the war. I heard of other people winning battles. It was enough to make me curse fate. I wrote a book on strategy, which I had always meant to write. Someone gave me—me, a prisoner of war—a forty-ton yawl for cruising. We used to go across and give dinner parties at Constantinople to different people of the embassy, but never would I give my parole, and I was always a prisoner with a couple of Turkish aides; and at times, as you can imagine, the society of those Turkish aides got fairly trying.

They came to me one day—I really must tell you this, it shows you the hospitality of the Turks and that it is not confined to yawls and motor cars, not at all limited to that—when I was working over my books, the Turkish Pasha came across to see me in his launch. He sat down and after our usual coffee—I wondered what the dickens he was going to talk about—he said, “Well, your Excellency, we hear you are fretting.” “By Jove! of course I am fretting. What else? Why don’t you give me my liberty. You have promised it often and often. Why don’t you let me go free. I love the Turks. They treated me like sportsmen. I appreciate fighting brave men. But at the same time I hate the Germans. I pray you to let me go to France now so that I can have a turn against them.” He said, “No, your Excellency, one day perhaps we will give you your liberty. In the meantime we don’t want to see you fret. Rather would we have you make a marriage.” “Well,” I said to the Turkish Pasha, “you know I am married already. I married a French lady in Paris; very charming, I assure you.” “Oh,” he said, “but this is only a temporary marriage. We have some beautiful ladies,” and I am not wishing to qualify for a seat in a stained glass window, but I replied, “but we don’t do it at home.” And when I was getting off in the boat he whispered in my ear,

"Whenever your Excellency would like to make marriage I trust you will let me know."

Well, now, how the Turk came out of the war. It was in September 1918. Up to that time I had made three efforts to escape and had just failed in the third. On one—I was never found out—I got a letter to the British by getting a Turkish soldier to desert with my letter sewn in his pocket. How I got out to that rock five miles out, and how an aeroplane missing me as it circled around went over an anti-aircraft battery and got brought down in front of my eyes, my five mile pull back with hopes down again—words fail me now to describe that evening! Well, it was a week after that when suddenly to my surprise I was called upon by the Turkish Minister of Marine. I had begun to see why I had been treated so well. They had been keeping me to help them in the end.

I was invited to go across at once. I went, they taking especial care that I was not to be seen by the Germans. Mind you, the Germans occupied the whole of Constantinople. They kept 20,000 troops there. They had taken possession of the Turkish warships, in fact Constantinople was theirs. Now Izzet Pasha carried out the coup against Enver Bey. Well, this man told me about his country being in a terrible position. He said, "You can imagine what it is for me to come from the Caucasus now and to take command here in Turkey, under the young Turkish party. My people fought in the Crimean with the British. I have always loved the policy of Britain. Will you help us?" I asked him where Allenby was, how far off. He said, "He is approaching Aleppo." "In other words, you are fairly in Queer Street?" He said, "I can go on resisting for five or six months." I replied, "Yes, but it would be better if you tried to get terms now. I will help you. You have treated me nobly. But I will help you only on one condition, that you make me a free man now on the spot. You had better send me to the British to-night." He gave me my liberty with both hands. I said to him, "It is no good approaching the British unless you will authorize me to open the Dardanelles." Mind you, when I got that sentence out I sat there (as you can imagine) very modestly. It is no modest favor to ask a man. Even Napoleon had failed to get the Dardanelles opened.

I must boil it all down. I left that port within half an hour with the opening of the Dardanelles in my pocket. I went off, you can imagine, feeling jubilant. A carriage drove

me down, I ordered lunch, with the claret just nicely warm, some real cigarettes. I felt I was a free man. With my modest cutlet I had a glass of Pilsener beer, although it cost me a fancy sum. I left, gentlemen, that night as fast as steam could take me across to the harbor in the Sea of Marmora feeling perfectly jolly. I was in plain clothes. Of course, they told me, you must not be discovered. I arrived at Panderma and the Governor of Smyrna was waiting for me with a train with restaurant car attached and everything. He said, "If the Germans ask me who you are who shall I say you are? People are asking who is this distinguished-looking stranger." I was so light hearted I told him, "Oh! I'm a Swiss admiral." I simply mention that to show you how simple-minded the Turk is. At Smyrna there was a band at the station, and then a municipal luncheon. I became anxious. I declined the dinner and said I had letters to write. I started off about 3.30 or 4 o'clock; we slipped our cable and set down the Gulf of Smyrna. As night approached a Turkish officer came to me, "Your Excellency, there are five lines of mines we are just coming to. But," he said, "I don't know just where they are placed." I thought he was a supremely useful officer to have with me! I said, "Well, we can see the ripple on the water when we are coming to them." He said, "Oh it isn't that, only I shall be tried by court martial if we touch one of those mines and you get hurt." I said, "Neither you nor I will know much about that mine if we do touch it." So we continued our way through those mines and it was, as far as I could see, rather cleverly done.

I arrived off the island about three in the morning and there found a British monitor. Next morning they sent for a destroyer and I arrived with the British fleet in the afternoon of the next day. The effect of that was that within one week I had a conference with the Admiralty and I had got a conference going with the Turkish delegates. We had that conference within a week; the agreement was signed; the mines were being taken away out of the Dardanelles straits to let the fleet through.

That, gentlemen, is the end of this rather long story. I have tried to keep it down; but it has been a rather difficult task, as you will no doubt appreciate. But I want to tell you how honored I am in coming to your club and in the manner in which you have received me. And I shall look back always to my visit to Toronto with great pride and joy.

(December 1st, 1919)

Allenby in Egypt

BY PROFESSOR J. L. MORISON.*

Mr. President and gentlemen;—It is a great anti-climax to come here expecting to listen to the most brilliant of journalists in Britain and to find that harmless drudge, a University professor. There is only one thing I will say in answer to the president's statement that I had been in the custom of stepping into *breaches*; I would point out that our regimental tradition is that you may wear the kilt, but there must be nothing else beneath.

I need no apology for introducing this subject to you: "Allenby in Egypt—a Phase of the Eastern Question." We have all of us got to think in the Imperial. Imperialism, in the large sense of the word, no longer stands where it did. The Imperial problem presents a dilemma that Canada has to settle in her mind, a dilemma that will dictate her policy for the rest of her national career. Between, there is independence with its apparent security, but implying the renunciation of interest in the rest of the world. The United States, which is faced with the same question, at the present moment has chosen that alternative. But, gentlemen, there is no Munroe Doctrine in the laws of nature. You may abstain and retreat, but as surely as the world is growing, the forces of that world that you are trying to leave will break in on you; and the necessary consequence of your abstention will be that when the enemy acts you must act, but at his dictation and not at yours.

I take it that we of the Canadian nation, and we are a nation, are prepared for co-operation for the good of the rest of the world. There is a shattered civilization to be remade, and only by such solid nations as Canada taking their full share in this great task of the world can it be accomplished.

*Professor Morison is lecturing at Queen's University in the Department of History, after having served throughout the war with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with whom he saw service in Palestine and France.

Owing to the speaker previously arranged for this meeting not being able to come, on account of the small pox quarantine, Professor Morison advanced the date of his meeting one week.

I would like to see in every center of the Empire a Bureau of World Information. I would like to see the University of Toronto and every other University throughout the Empire equipped with a Bureau of Information and professors of Imperial Policy and Imperial Political Science. Gentlemen, the day of the village patriot is over—except, perhaps, across the border.

Now I must come to the task itself; why were we in Egypt at all? Many may ask that question. I do not wish to go over that long story of misgovernment, bankruptcy, and mismanagement which landed Egypt in the old days in a hopeless condition. There are certain outside critics who question the position of Britain in Egypt. All I can say is that the hands of British statesmen are clean—only too clean, as a matter of fact—and our friends across the border, when they passed criticism on the position of Britain might very well compare the policy which landed Britain in Egypt with the policy which separated the Republic of Panama from the Republic of Colombia and secured an American territory around the Panama Canal. Compare the two transactions: the English transaction stands as clear as day. We had to go into Egypt. Our statesmen wished to get out and they could not.

The moment England went into Egypt the Eastern question took on a new and interesting aspect. There was a day when Constantinople was the center of that question. Constantinople is still a glorious tradition, but it is obsolete now. Statesmen did not understand that it does not matter to Britain what happens in Constantinople; but it matters all over the world what happens at Alexandria, Port Said, and the Suez Canal—that is the very center of British world-power. Whatever touches that touches the heart of the Empire, and it touches you in Canada as much as it touches us in Britain.

When that Eastern question had come to its acutest in Egypt, the Germans—and I am not speaking by report, I am speaking of what I know—had launched their great scheme. Of course, everyone knows that the Germans had intended to organize Turkey as a kind of German India. Why should they not? But the German is never noted for moderation. He is always reaching out to something further. And I can tell you from knowledge that Egypt in times of peace had been honey-combed by German spies.

There are still, I believe, a few individuals who doubt whether Britain was quite justified in taking the action she did in Egypt. In every corner of the British Empire there were enough reasons from German interference to launch a war,

and there never was a better reason for British action than Germany's manipulation in Egypt. The Germans had their hands deep in the life of Egypt. Their secret service was preparing a rising against Great Britain, and the first definite entry of the British army into that scene of action came with an attempted rising on the part of the so-called Nationalist Party. When I hear talk of Egyptian Nationalism I want to know who the Nationalist is, for whom he is speaking, whether it is the peasant, the millions of laborers, or a few disappointed intriguers in the slums of Cairo.

Late in 1914 and early in 1915 the Turk passed down Syria, throwing some troops across the desert, and hoped to find a rebellious Egypt. British action, smart and definite, ended that visit. In the action which followed the Turks admitted one wounded Turk, but the men who fought in that action know something different. Nothing but British readiness foiled that plan.

Well, gentlemen, that is why we entered the great fight in the East. We had to do it for the sake of the British Empire; and we had to fight at that point because the Germans made us fight there; and it was as big an issue we were fighting there as Jellicoe and Beatty were fighting in the North Sea. Breaking the British Empire at that point would be nearly as bad as a defeat for the fleet in the North Sea.

I do not intend to take you into the history of the various stages of the two campaigns, but shall give just one or two points and characteristics. Why could not we stop, say, at the Canal? Or why not stop at the edge of Palestine? Was it unwise for us to push on? No. Lord Kitchener came out; and with that grand strategic view he always had he said, "Why are you allowing the Canal to defend you. You must defend the Canal;" and he passed his men across to the other side.

From the moment Kitchener flung the British troops into the Sinai Peninsula there was no logical stopping place. I remember that we halted at the edge of the desert, and men said, "We are going to stay here." When we got to Gaza we thought we would stop there; and then the capture of Jerusalem seemed to be the end of the campaign. But there was an irresistible force driving on the British to carry their arms straight on to Aleppo.

The prize to be won was one of Germany's chief objectives in this war. I do not know if any of you remember an article in the *London Times*, in which a neutral said there were two things that would end German power; one, a defeat in the

West; the other, the frustration of the German hopes in the East. Allenby was carrying out that neutral's prediction, and he could not stop until he reached Aleppo.

Under the glory of Allenby's work I think the British Empire is forgetting somewhat the valuable, steady and untiring work that was done before he came. I had the pleasure and honor of taking part in that march up the Sinai Peninsula. Our soldiers there fought nobly. From the day Kitchener put his troops across onto the sand until Allenby took things over there was steady and untiring purpose both on the part of the cavalry and infantry. It was in those months that two great engineering exploits were accomplished. A railway and a pipe-line containing drinkable water were flung across the desert. By a curious coincidence one of the oldest trade routes in the world is now marked by a British railway and pipe line, and after trade begins to flow freely once more the work done by the engineers will stand forever. It is a commercial asset.

At this point may I make one or two confessions of the pleasures of those old days. Pleasures in a desert, you say? There are patches of that desert campaign that will live forever in my mind. I can see in my mind's eye now a picture where there was moonlight, and clear bright stars were shining, and in front of me was a great level plain—formerly covered with water, then dry and glistening with salt and gypsum—and one looked away to the east through infinite stretches of shining white, saw the sands of the desert as white as Canadian snow, and one felt this was Life and one never lived it before; and one began to think that a professor's job was a poor thing compared to it.

There was another glorious day. We had been tramping through the desert day after day through the heat; and always sand, and sand, and sand. One day we got on to a sand hill and I climbed to the top. Now, my battalion came from the western coast of Scotland, we had all been born by the sea. From that hill, away on the northern sky line we saw just a little glimpse of Mediterranean blue, and I watched that day Highlander after Highlander climbing that hill and in a kind of shame faced way take a peep at the sea and go back to dream of home beside the western waters.

And there were pleasurable nights in the trenches, because trench life was better and more endurable there than in France—the Turk had certain funny habits of slackening his combative energies at certain periods—and I can think of the song in the night, of the twittering of birds, of the fresh north winds

blowing in from the Mediterranean. One felt then that after all it was not a bad thing to be alive there. It was really a great pleasure to share in that early campaign.

I am keeping you back from the real subject on which I am to speak; and that is, Allenby and what Allenby did. You need be under no illusions as to that. There have been reputations lost and most grand reputations won in the late war. There are some men writing books now who had very much better be quiet about what they did. But about Allenby, believe me, there is not a single fact on the wrong side. He is a very great and successful soldier. Let me tell you some things he did. I remember, as we lay at Gaza—we had been halted there;—in spite of what the communications said, we had been checked. I do not like lying, and I frankly confess someone lied in the communication. It is not the British way, and we had better check it. They call it propaganda nowadays. The British Empire stands four square on God's truth, and if we tamper with the tricks of lesser breeds, if we lie or misrepresent or try to "educate" public opinion, we will come down. The one policy that Britain must follow is that of absolute truth.

Well, gentlemen, Allenby did not require any lying communications to boom his affair. Many of my men were Gallipoli men. They had been tramping up that desert; it is hard work tramping in dragging sands, and their courage was a bit spent. As we looked on across from our hill away beyond down on the plain we sometimes wondered if we ever could cross another half mile and get through. There was an enervation through every part of that great force which stretched some twenty or thirty miles into the desert. But when Allenby came there was not an officer who did not feel something was different. He organized. Gentlemen, war nowadays is not fought along old lines: War is a business, conducted by business men; and you Canadian people produced excellent business men. Allenby was a business man. All up that desert we had been bombed at. We were inferior in the air, and we continued inferior in the air until Allenby arrived.

When Allenby arrived he issued his ultimatum to the British Government. He said, "I will not start my campaign until I have decent planes." The men were sacrificing their lives in old busses and Allenby got planes and made a kind of barrage of planes in the air. One German plane got through and discovered the concentration, and that plane came down. Next day, Allenby's force went forward and there was not a German plane in the air, for practical purposes, for the rest of the campaign.

We are very fond of spectacular military operations, where a small force of British fight desperately against overwhelming masses; but that is not war. Modern war is concentrating on any given point a greater mass of men or masses of men than your opponent. You must always have the stronger force in war. And Allenby succeeded. Before he moved a single man, he succeeded in organizing around that line an overwhelming mass of strength. **That is business.**

There is another thing. People speak of the war as a war that was without cavalry. They forget that in those eastern campaigns some of the most brilliant operations that ever have been indulged in by the cavalry arm took place. Allenby is a great cavalry man, and he had in the desert ample opportunity for the use of that arm. He utilized it with a brilliance that has only been equalled once or twice in history. Allenby used that cavalry to dash the Turkish Army to pieces. It was a great and brilliant cavalry operation.

There is another aspect that many of you perhaps have not thought of. He is a great diplomatist. The French had been a little troublesome in the East. They were always bothering us with their claims, and on the day that Allenby indulged in his proclamation of religious liberty in Jerusalem, there was on his right hand the French commander, symbolical of the French interests in Jerusalem, and on his left hand there was the head of the Italian contingent. Further back there was a gentleman who has been bothering us since the war in Paris. He tried to push in between Allenby and the Italian leader, in other words to claim that Jerusalem was predominantly a French sphere. Allenby, with the politeness and firmness, always characteristic of him said, "Monsieur, back. Your place is there." There was no further argument.

There was another thing he did. He proved to the world what Britain was really doing in the war. I understand there are certain nations that claim to have finished the war. I was on the Western front. I was there at the finish. I saw those hammer strokes of Marshall Foch's. One weapon he used was the Imperial Army of Britain. From August 8, when the Canadians went in, until November 11, there was one force at least that had every man available in the fighting line, and that was Britain. And, mark you, that was not all. In the Balkans there was a British force. British ships were in every sea; and then, just to clinch the argument, to tell people a thousand years hence what the British could do with a sea Empire, Allenby launched that mighty stroke of his and entirely annihilated the ambitions of the Germans for ever and ever. That is what Britain did.

Gentlemen, what are the consequences of Allenby's work? You cannot judge a man simply by what he does. You must try to understand what the consequences of his actions will be. The first thing he did was to firmly establish the British prestige in the East, Near and Far. I used to look at that flag flying from our headquarters at Cairo and pray to God that nothing would ever disgrace it floating there; for it stood, for me at least, for all the good things in the world, honour and truth and righteousness.

There is one peculiarity about the Eastern world: you rule it not merely by force or by ordinary government; you rule it by reputation: and, frankly, our reputation had suffered a little, particularly by the surrender of Townshend and also by those two checks of ours. Allenby once and for all showed the East that Britain was still in the war and that when she speaks all others must be silent. Now, I know that the Eastern question has many difficulties about it, but we never can withdraw from the East, whatever happens, and if we are going to rule in the East we must rule as a great-minded and successful power. General Allenby proved to every power east of the Suez that Britain was competent to rule and that she challenged every rival. That is a great thing for you as well as for the people of the East.

In the second place, and here I get on difficult ground, Allenby gave this Empire leisure of mind and freedom from interference to grapple with its problems in the East, including that great one of the Egyptian question. No good and well intentioned philanthropist can obtain a sudden solution of the Eastern question. Allenby did this. He gave the administrators of Britain a chance of thinking things out quietly. What are you going to do? There is an Egyptian Nationalist Party. Are we going to yield to their request? Well, before we do we must remember this. Egypt is, as I said before, a nation of peasants. Who are the Nationalists? Largely a group of what the Russians call the "intellectuals", of students looking for jobs in Cairo; and these men, if they had the peasants in their hands, would once more turn those peasants into beasts of burden.

Give them their national rights if you can, but also safeguard the peasant. What is more, people say you must allow democratic ideas to have way. Granted! But you cannot square democracy in the East by simply telling them to go to hell—for then what would happen? What happened in Turkey? The Young Turk democratic party arose. The Young Turks got their way. Within a few years the

most hopeless and confirmed autocracy the Turk ever knew was established in the Turkish government. That was the result of a short-cut to democracy.

I say this, then, gentlemen, I am a democrat to my finger tips. I believe the British Empire must put its best judgment to work to give both India and Egypt such rights as they ought to get; but if you act in haste you will repent very rapidly. Since Allenby has given us this great gift there is no enemy around Egypt now that we may fear. We have plenty of time, and I want to say that not only Britain, but Canada is interested in such a question as the future of Egypt. That is what I call true Imperialism. You yourselves have acquired nationhood after long struggles and difficulties and you must turn the lessons you have learned in other directions and see if you, too, as well as Britain, can help Egypt. Allenby has given you the chance.

General Allenby enabled one of the most interesting experiments that the world has seen to be made, the Zionist movement to Palestine. For centuries the Jews have been persecuted and overwhelmed. The scandal of today is that in some of these new nations to whom we have just given liberties, there are still Jewish massacres going on. I want to see some place in the world—and Jerusalem is the place—where there can be a refuge for that nation of the world that has given us most and from which we draw the greatest things we have. I know every Jew welcomed the entrance of Great Britain into the sphere of Eastern politics. I think we are bound as a nation to play fair now and give them every chance. I rejoice and take pride that the nation that through Allenby has given that distressed people the first opportunity, and is now going to set them up with a country, is Great Britain. Long live the Zionist City in the Holy Land!

And with this I have finished. Critics of Britain and friends of Britain sometimes forget that in these long campaigns Britain was pursuing a very great and holy crusade. Perhaps I am using the wrong phrase, for the crusade suggests the cross and the crescent fighting each other. They were not. In that glorious army that carried Allenby to Jerusalem there were Mohammedans as well as Christians. It was a union of the two to overwhelm the most hated tyranny that the world has ever seen.

Some of you here are old enough to remember the days when Mr. Gladstone thundered against the Turks because of the Bulgarian atrocities. From that day there has been atrocity after atrocity. Anyone who has read Lord Bryce's re-

port will realize that no nation has suffered like the Armenian nation has in the late war. The tales told there are incredible in their bestiality and brutality. The Turk may be a gentleman. Sometimes he is, and sometimes he is not. But the Turkish government has earned the condemnation of God and humanity in this world. The selfishness of nations and the folly of politicians too long have stood between Europe and that crushing stroke that was to wipe the cursed thing from the face of the Earth. It was General Allenby that passed in. I might almost see flocks of the avenging angels, sent as Allenby's legions, striking at that ancient instrument of corruption and persecution, tumbling it in fragments to the ground.

Report of the Honorary Secretary

*To the President and Members of the Canadian Club of
Toronto,—*

The season just closed, the first one since the War, has been one of the most successful in the Club's history. The number of meetings held has been 32, and the Executive feels that the large attendance of members is an evidence of their approval of the guests selected to address them. The meetings addressed by General Currie, the Prince of Wales, Mr. Vanderlip, and Admiral Jellicoe were held in conjunction with the Empire Club, and, thanks to the spirit of co-operation which has prevailed between the two Clubs, were most successful.

The meeting addressed by Cardinal Mercier was held at Convocation Hall; those for the Prince of Wales and General Currie, in Massey Hall. The remainder were at the King Edward Hotel, the management of which, in spite of great difficulties due to inadequate service and high prices, has done much to facilitate the holding of the meetings and the comfort of the members. The average attendance at the luncheons, exclusive of joint meetings, was 462, as compared with 328 for last year.

During the year fifteen Executive meetings and numerous meetings of the Speakers' Committee have been held. The inauguration of the Floor Committee took place during the year, and, under Messrs. Neeve and Grabill, it has contributed materially to the successful handling of the meetings. The very large increase in membership reflects great credit upon Major E. W. Wright and the other members of the Membership Committee.

Of the thirty-two meetings, the speakers in fourteen cases—including the Prince of Wales—have been Canadian, and four of them are members of this Club.

In choosing speakers, your Executive, in spite of criticism from certain quarters, has taken the view that nothing of public interest is foreign to the Canadian Club, and that the members desire to have as many different points of view as

possible presented to them. The list of speakers, subjects and attendance is as follows:—

Date of Meeting	Speaker	Subject	Attendance
1919			
May 19—	Maj.-Gen. A. D. McRae, C.B.	"Canadian Citizenship of the Future"	188
June 23—	Brig.-Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	"Operations in France and Italy"	275
Aug. 29—	Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	"The Canadian Corps"	2,600
Sept. 16—	Viscount Finlay	"Canada and the Empire"	390
Sept. 23—	Percy Hurd, M. P.	"Canada's New Place in British Thought"	230
Oct. 8—	Sir Bertram Hayes, R.N.R. K.B.E.		500
Oct. 14—	Cardinal Mercier		1,650
Oct. 27—	Louis Tracy, O.B.E.	"The Common Cause"	497
Nov. 4—	H. R. H. The Prince of Wales		3,500
Nov. 12—	His Excellency The Duke of Devonshire		445
Nov. 17—	F. A. Vanderlip	"Conditions in the United States"	850
Nov. 24—	Governor Harding	"Some American Financial Problems"	561
Dec. 1—	Professor J. L. Morrison	"Operations in Palestine"	395
Dec. 3—	Hon. E. C. Drury	"Present Problems in Ontario"	517
Dec. 8—	Admiral Jellicoe		850
Dec. 15—	Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C.	"The Labor Clauses of the Peace Treaty and the Washington Conference"	741
Dec. 27—	Lieut.-Col. O. M. Biggar, K.C.	"Canada as a Member of the League of Nations"	377
1920			
Jan. 12—	Right Rev. Bishop Farthing	"The Forward Movement"	308
Jan. 19—	Principal Hutton	"Gladstone and Disraeli"	323
Jan. 28—	Sir George Paish	"The World's Economic Situation"	445
Feb. 3—	Sir Harry Lauder, K.B.E.		729
Feb. 9—	Madame Pantazzi		437
Feb. 16—	Brig.-Gen. Andrew G. L. McNaughton, C.M.G., D.S.O.	"The Development of Artillery During the War"	346

Feb. 23—Sir Edmund Walker, Kt. C.V.O., L.L.D., D.C.L.	"The Far East"	541
Mar. 1—T. B. Macaulay	"Our Relation to the West Indies"	428
Mar. 8—Prof. G. M. Wrong	"Did the British Empire Cease To Exist on Aug. 4, 1914?" ..	325
Mar. 15—Capt. Gipsy Smith	"The Nomads of Europe" ..	432
Mar. 22—Mr. Handley Page		429
Mar. 29—Mr. A. D. Noyes	"The World's Economic and Political Readjustment" ..	606
Apr. 12—Philip W. Wilson	"A Moderate View of the Irish Question"	420
Apr. 19—Mr. Frederic William Wile	"John Bull and Uncle Sam" .	533
May 3—Annual Meeting—Guest, Major-Gen. Sir Charles Townshend. K.C.B., D.S.O.		

All of which is respectfully submitted,

J. M. MACDONNELL,
Honorary Secretary.

Report of the Honorary Treasurer

*To the President and Members of the Canadian Club of
Toronto,—*

The Financial Statement for the year shows a great increase in all departments. The income for the year amounted to \$8027.16, and the total expenses amount to \$6,374.78. In addition, the sum of \$2,508.41 was invested in Victory Bonds. The net surplus for the year, after paying all expenses, amounts to \$1,652.38, as compared with \$777.22 for last year.

The membership has been greatly increased. During the year the fees were received of 1,392 old members and 996 new members. This, with 116 members who paid at the end of last year and were credited with their fees for this year, brings the total paid-up membership to 2,504, as compared with 1,525 last year. In addition, there are 41 Honorary Members still on the list. Seventy-eight old members died or resigned during the year, and 996 new members were elected. The detailed expenditures and receipts are shown in the attached Auditor's statement.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

D. M. NEEVE,
Honorary Treasurer.

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT APRIL, 29TH, 1920.

Assets.

Current—

Cash on Hand	\$15.00	
Petty Cash Bank Account	100.00	
Imperial Bank of Canada	<u>1,865.82</u>	\$1,980.82

Investments—

Debentures.

Town of Owen Sound.....	\$971.07	
Town of Kitchener	512.92	
Dominion of Canada War Bonds.		
1919 Issue: \$2,500	\$2,508.41	
1918 Issue: 1,500	1,500.00	
1917 Issue: 1,500	<u>1,428.75</u>	
		6,921.15
		<u>\$8,901.97</u>

Liabilities.

Current—

Provision for Outstanding Accounts		\$1,100.00
To Members—		
Surplus Account April 24th, 1919	6,149.59	
Surplus Acct. April 24th, 1919 to April 29th, 1920	<u>1,652.38</u>	
		7,801.97
		<u><u>\$8,901.97</u></u>

TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS,
APRIL, 25TH, 1919, TO APRIL, 29TH, 1920.*Receipts.*

Balance at Imperial Bank, April 25, 1919		\$1,636.85
Petty Cash on Hand, April 25, 1919		100.00
Fees—		
Old Members, 1,392	\$4,176.00	
New Members, 996	<u>2,988.00</u>	
	2,388	\$7,164.00
Receipts, McCrea Memorial Fund		272.00
Tickets sold		305.42
Year Books sold		1.45
Bank Interest		45.44
Debenture Interest		75.65
War Bonds, Interest		163.20
Provision for Outstanding Accounts		<u>1,100.00</u>
		9,127.16
		<u><u>\$10,864.01</u></u>

Payments.

To Items chargeable against 1918 and 1919 Season	\$110.10	
To Asst. Secretary-Treasurer's Honorarium	1,291.65	
To Printing and Stationery	687.20	
To Telephone Account	70.75	
To Telegraph Account	397.98	
To Postage, Postcards and Petty Cash Disbursements	870.13	
To Catering	461.82	
To Reporting	174.75	
To Guests' Expenses	479.00	
To Provide for Outstanding Accounts	1,100.00	
To Travelling and Out-of Pocket Expenses	185.00	
To Bank Charges	2.40	
To Flowers	25.00	
To Association Fees	247.00	
To Guelph Canadian Club	272.00	
Total Expenses		<u>6,374.78</u>

On Capital Account.

\$1,500 1919 Victory Bonds	\$1,500.00	
\$1,000 1919 Victory Bonds	1,008.41	
		2,508.41
Total Payments		<u>\$8,883.19</u>
Balance at Imperial Bank, April 29, 1920	\$1,865.82	
Petty Cash on hand, April 29, 1920	100.00	
Cash on hand, April 29, 1920	15.00	
		1,980.82
		<u>\$10,864.01</u>

We report having audited the books of your Club with the vouchers and other records for the Season ended April 29th, 1920, and certify that in our opinion, the above Balance Sheet and attached Statement of Receipts and Payments are drawn up so as to show correctly the position of your Club as at April 29th, 1920, and its operations for the Season.

RUTHERFORD WILLIAMSON & CO.,

Chartered Accountants,

86 Adelaide Street East,

Toronto.

April 30th, 1920.

LIST OF MEMBERS

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO 1919-1920

Albert W. Abbott, S. L. Abbott, C. E. Abbs, R. J. Abbs, E. F. Abell, C. R. Acres, H. G. Acres, G. G. Adam, Allan Adams, E. Herbert Adams, J. Frank Adams, W. L. T. Addison, C. J. Agar, Sir John Aird, G. C. Albertson, T. B. Alcock, W. H. Alderson, John A. Alexander, W. H. Alexander, W. Murray Alexander, A. L. Allan, John G. Allan, W. A. Allan, Bernard Allen, James Allen, F. F. Allison, J. R. W. Ambrose, A. E. Ames, W. L. Amos, A. J. Anderson, C. G. Anderson, Chas. H. Anderson, H. C. Anderson, H. W. Anderson, John G. Anderson, Joseph Anderson, Wallace Anderson, Wm. Anderson, Thomas H. Anderson, G. C. Anglin, R. W. Anglin, S. E. Anglin, Harry H. Angus, R. W. Angus, A. F. Annis, H. C. Annis, L. E. Annis, Irvin H. Ante, L. L. Anthes, L. Archambault, Alfred Archer, W. Archibald, H. R. Ardagh, Robert Arkell, J. S. Armitage, A. E. Armstrong, John J. Armstrong, Thomas Armstrong, W. A. Armstrong, A. W. Arnott, Jesse H. Arnup, A. E. Arscott, T. H. Ashley, E. M. Ashworth, J. J. Ashworth, D. H. Atkinson, A. R. Auld, A. McNiece Austin, Geo. W. Austin, John Albert Austin, W. R. Austin, Hartley G. Authors, Charles Aylett, David Ayr.

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Beeston, E. A. Begg, F. John Bell, John Bell, Wm. L. Bell, Chas. A. Bender, Charles L. Benedict, Geo. C. Benjamin, E. J. Bennett, A. N. Bentley, Geo. M. Bertram, Frank Bethel, Alex. B. Bethune, Henry J. Bethune, D. E. Beynon, W. E. Bigwood, W. R. Binch, M. H. Bingeman, A. W. Binnie, Harry Binns, Eustace G. Bird, C. H. Bishop, Charles W. Bishop, Jos. L. Bishop, Roy H. Bishop, A. F. Blachford, A. W. Blachford, Chas. E. Blachford, Howard C. Blachford, J. C. Black, S. W. Black, W. A. Black, W. G. Black, A. R. Blackburn, Herbert Blackburn, C. C. Blackstock, Gibbs Blackstock, Wm. G. Blackstock, Hugh Blain, Hume Blake, A. B. Blake-Foster, Wm. K. Blakey, Thomas Bland, W. H. Bleasdel, E. P. Blenkarn, Leo. A. Blenkarn, T. Lyle Blogg, W. C. Boadway, Edward Boisseau, W. W. Bole, Norman E. Bolton, St. George Bond, John R. Bone, Chas. W. Bongard, C. A. Boone, J. M. Booth, C. B. Borland, C. C. Bothwell, J. A. Bothwell, Robert M. Boulden, A. S. Boulton, G. D. Boulton, H. L. Boulton, Arthur S. Bourinot, H. C. Bourlier, Thos. P. Bowen, Thomas E. Boyce, A. L. Boyd, George Boyd, Edward J. Boyd, John A. Boyd, C. W. Bradley, I. D. Bradshaw, T. Bradshaw, Clarence A. Brady, Edgar T. J. Brandon, D. A. Brash, H. E. Brasier, E. A. Breckenridge, Herbert Breckenridge, J. C. Breckenridge, B. M. Bremner, Donald G. Bremner, C. Brent, J. W. Brent, Jos. A. Brett, G. A. P. Brickenden, Gordon J. Bricker, A. A. Briggs, A. W. Briggs, J. P. Brinsmead, Edmund Bristol, J. R. K. Bristol, G. H. Bristow, Albert Britnell, Stanley E. Brock, S. G. Brock, W. F. Brock, C. C. Brooks, P. H. Brooks, Wm. Brooks, J. R. Y. Broughton, J. L. Brower, A. Brown, Alex. G. Brown, A. L. Brown, Arthur R. Brown, B. R. Brown, Crawford Brown, E. P. Brown, Frederick A. Brown, F. C. Brown, F. D. Brown, F. H. Brown, Geo. N. Brown, James Brown, L. P. Brown, Newton R. Brown, N. H. C. Brown, P. Cade Brown, Richard Brown, W. E. Brown, R. M. Browne, A. H. C. Bruce, E. Keith Bruce, John Bruce, M. Bruce, R. J. Bruce, W. B. Brumell, A. D. Brunskill, F. S. Buck, Wm. Bucke, T. W. Bucklee, C. E. Buckley, J. C. Budreo, B. E. Bull, Emerson Bull, Charles Bulley, J. W. Bundy, A. L. Burch, J. M. Burden, Wm. R. Burge, C. H. Burgess, J. W. Burgess, Chas. Burls, Arthur H. Burnett, H. D. Burnett, H. E. Burnett, Walter Burnill, A. Gordon Burns, Alex. N. Burns, Chas. E. Burns, H. D. Burns, James A. Burns, R. L. Burns, Lockwood Burpee, A. V. Burr, W. H. Burr, A. A. Burrows, Robert Burrows, Aaron Burt, A. W. Burt, Geo. A. Burt, C. L. Burton, Amos Bushell, Frederick Busted, A. S. Butchard, T. E. C. Butler, J. W. Butters.

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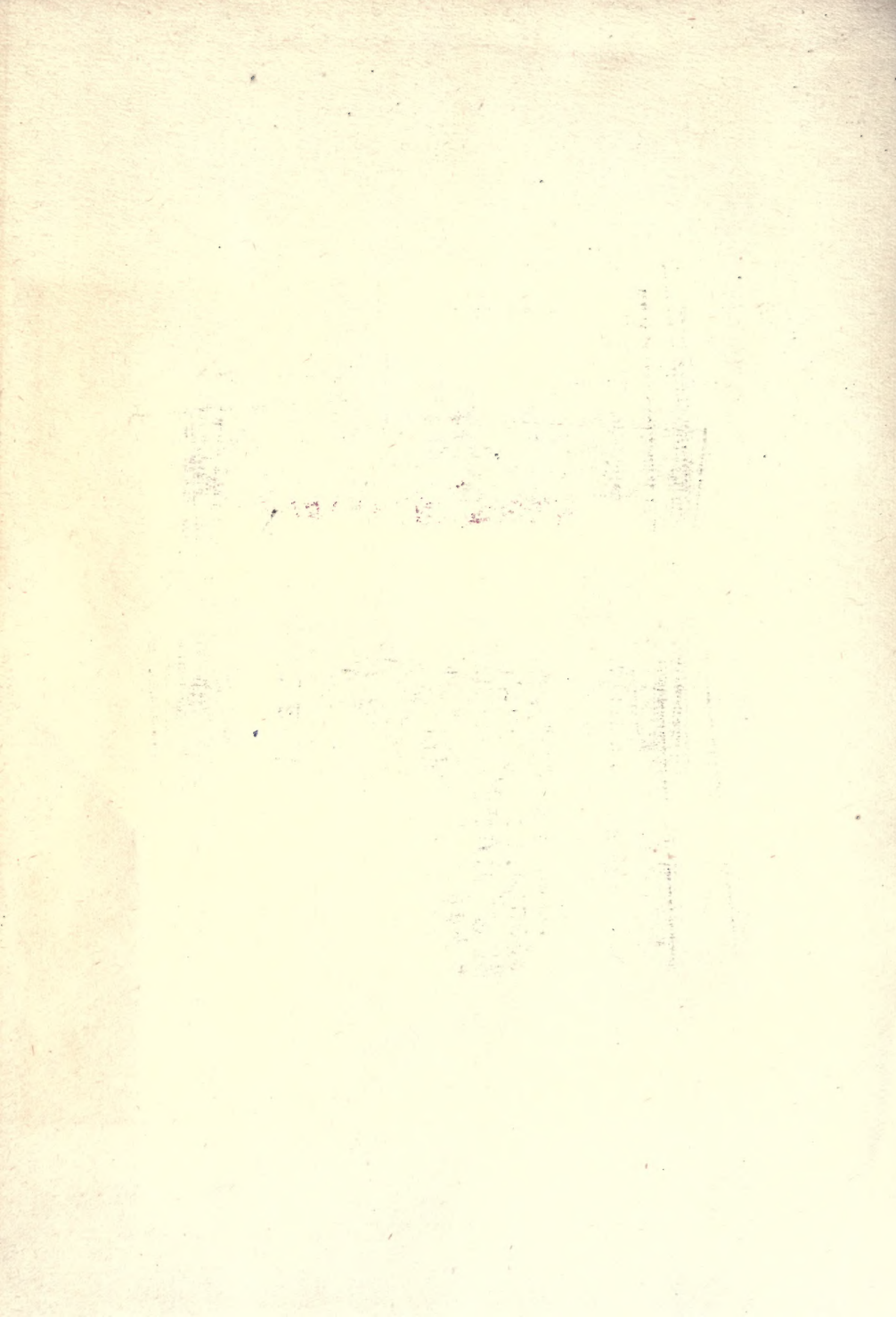
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